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# THE SOURCES OF TYNDALE'S VER- SION OF THE PENTATEUCH

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE DIVINITY  
SCHOOL IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE  
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE AND INTERPRETATION)

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CHICAGO  
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS  
1906

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Published August, 1906

Composed and Printed By  
The University of Chicago Press  
Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.

## THE SOURCES OF TYNDALE'S VERSION OF THE PENTATEUCH

Among the heroes and martyrs of the English Reformation none is more worthy of the historian's study than William Tyndale. The singular gaps in the records of his life, which have contributed to the popular neglect of Tyndale, remind one of the similar hiatus in our knowledge of Shakspeare's career; the more because these two sixteenth-century leaders, different in every other respect, were alike in the depth of the impression they made on the English language at a critical stage of its development. It is known to scholars, but hardly to the general public, that the English New Testament of our own time is essentially the work of Tyndale. A comparison of his pioneer version with the later sixteenth-century translations and with the Authorized Version of 1611 shows conclusively that all the changes and improvements from Coverdale down to the American Revision are numerically far less than the phrases and sentences of the exiled scholar of the Reformation period. As one begins to perceive that our rich heritage of perfect phrases and melodious rhythm in the English Testament has descended, not from the bishops of 1611 or of 1558, but from this much-abused martyr of King Henry's reign, the wonder grows that his very name is strange to the ordinary Bible reader, and that his romantic history is all but forgotten. No less intrepid and original than his great predecessor Wiclif, he lived at a time when the new learning made possible a translation from the original tongues, and when the English language had become more flexible, richer in synonyms, and better fitted to render the Hebrew and Hellenic Greek idioms without violence. No less aflame with indignation against the abuses of the priesthood and the wrongs of the English people than was Wiclif, he entered upon his work at precisely the moment when the long-smoldering fires of reformation wanted but a spark to set them off in England, as they had been kindled in Germany by Luther's attack on Tetzel. It was Tyndale's Testament more than Henry's divorce or the minor ecclesiastical reforms of the bishops that started the English Reformation. It was Tyndale's words that were on men's lips in the dark days that followed; Tyndale's matchless rendering of the gospels that the martyrs recited in their dungeons and at the stake; Tyndale's bold doctrines of scriptural interpretation that saved England from the bibliolatriy of German Protestantism after

Luther's death. Some of his ideas were too radical for the age. Modern writers who suggest, as if for the first time, that the translator of Scripture should avoid words of ecclesiastical connotation foreign to the original learn with surprise and admiration that Tyndale substituted "congregation" for "church," used "love" in 1 Corinthians, chap. 13, and anticipated other modern innovations in an age when such ideas were strange in England.

It has been often said that in this popularizing of the Scripture, as in other phases of his work, Tyndale simply copied Luther. We shall have to consider at length the direct and the indirect obligations of the English to the German reformer; and shall find large elements of indebtedness which none would have been freer to acknowledge than Tyndale himself, had the question been put to him by his friends rather than by his enemies.<sup>1</sup> But this may be said at the very outset, that to charge a man with "copying Luther" is to pay him a unique compliment, for a more original and inimitable person never lived than the good doctor of Wittenberg, to match whose countless whims and fancies and homely German idioms would be a task for a master-actor. If it be true that Tyndale, moved by Luther's spirit and aided by his genius, brought the gospel to the people of England in a way as suited to the English situation as Luther's was to the very different state of affairs in Germany, it can hardly be a detraction from his merits to acknowledge the relation. The facts have long been obscured by partisans, who have sought to prove either that Tyndale worked absolutely without aid, or that he was a mere camp-follower of the German reformers. Like many other questions touching the Reformation in England, this long-standing controversy over Tyndale's originality has been entangled in ecclesiastical side issues and historical mazes, with which the modern investigator need have little to do. A study of the sources is much more profitable than a fruitless attempt to balance the prejudiced or ignorant opinions of superficial historians.

The present inquiry is devoted to a neglected phase of the work of Tyndale, of much interest to the Old Testament scholar, and not without its bearing on English literary history. Having published his version of the New Testament, and several doctrinal treatises to be mentioned shortly, the reformer proceeded to begin a much larger enterprise, which unhappily he never completed—the translation of the Old Testament. The Pentateuch was issued in 1530. It is a rare book, of which only a few copies exist, and never reprinted until the careful and admirable edition of Dr.

<sup>1</sup> On Tyndale's indebtedness to Luther see Eadie, *The English Bible*, Vol. I, pp. 143-46, 209-12; Moulton, *The History of the English Bible*, pp. 87, 88.



J. I. Mombert appeared in 1884.<sup>1</sup> This, the first English version from the Old Testament since the fourteenth century, possesses a peculiar interest for all students of the English Bible. When it appeared, the study of Hebrew was a novelty in England, the first chair of Hebrew in an English university having been established in 1524 at Cambridge,<sup>2</sup> in the year that Tyndale had left his native land never to return. On the continent scholars had been studying Hebrew, with the aid of learned Jews, for half a century. Hebrew studies flourished in Italy and Spain. Johann Reuchlin, Sebastian Münster, and others had cultivated the language with zeal and genius in Germany, and in several of the German universities great advance had been made in this difficult branch of philology. But England was a generation behind Germany in this, as she has since been in some other branches of sacred learning, and Tyndale, when he began his task of rendering the Old Testament into English, had no native precedents to follow. The interesting question arises: How far did he succeed in his aim? To what extent did he use the Hebrew in his version of the Pentateuch? Was he, as his detractors have declared, a mere dabbler in Semitic grammar, parading his etymologies of proper names to hide ignorance of the language itself, and depending almost entirely on the Vulgate and on Luther? Or was the father of our English New Testament also the father of English Hebrew scholarship, who, under many limitations, acquired in Germany an adequate mastery of the language, and made his own version independently and with scholarly discrimination?

That this is no trivial or academic question is shown by two facts: first, that Tyndale's Pentateuch is essentially our own Pentateuch in style and substance, and, so to speak, set the style of rendering Hebrew prose which, as carried out by later translators in the remainder of the Old Testament, has become the grand style for religious compositions in English; second, that, if tradition is to be given due weight, we are to attribute to Tyndale's hand, not only the Pentateuch, published during his lifetime, but the historical books from Joshua through Chronicles as they appeared in print for the first time in the so-called "Matthew's Bible," edited by the martyr John Rogers in 1536, and adopted by Coverdale a year later.<sup>3</sup> It is the testimony of early historians that Tyndale left these

<sup>1</sup> *William Tyndale's Five Books of Moses Called the Pentateuch*. (New York: A. D. F. Randolph, 1884.)

<sup>2</sup> Robert Wakefield was the first incumbent. See *Athenæum*, 1885, pp. 500 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Demaus, *Life of William Tyndale*, p. 478; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1484; Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible*, p. 295. Foxe's reference is as follows: "John Rogers brought up in the Universitie of Cambridge, where hee profitably trauelled in good learning, at the length was chosen and called by the Merchants Aduenturers, to

books in manuscript, the work at least in part of his imprisonment, and that they were secretly conveyed to Rogers and issued by him. On this hypothesis we owe to Tyndale nearly the entire historical portion of the Old Testament, comprising more than one-half of the whole. In the absence of any proof of this tradition, it would be improper to base any independent argument upon these books; but the certainty that Tyndale carried his Hebrew studies beyond the Pentateuch, and pursued them with eagerness up to the very end of his life, justifies us in regarding him as more than a mere beginner and amateur in the language.

The inquiry is the more interesting because it has been neglected. The historians of the English Bible, devoting large space to Tyndale's New Testament, pass over his Pentateuch with scanty mention, as a minor episode in his career, of only incidental biographical interest. The New Testament, of course, lay nearest to his heart, and was the work by which his influence upon the course of events in England was chiefly exerted. In it he found the true doctrine of salvation with which he sought to displace the erroneous teachings of the church; in it he found the true constitution of the church, which in his controversial writings he set over against the abuses of the hierarchy, the "practice of prelates" which disgraced Christendom. But Tyndale held broad views of Scripture. In his thought the Bible was a progressive revelation, no part of which could be neglected by the Christian believer. In the lives of the patriarchs, the story of the exodus, the history of Israel, he saw innumerable parallels to the experiences of the believer and to the progress of the church; and these depended for their force, not on any allegorizing interpretation such as captivated many of the later reformers, but on a just appreciation of the true relation between sacred and modern history.<sup>1</sup> He deprecated all attempts to veil the historical sense of the Scripture in elaborate mystical metaphor. For him, as for Luther, the men of the Bible were real men, with real trials and defeats and victories from which the Christian might

be their Chaplaine at Antwerpe in Brabant, whome he serued to their good contentation many yeares. It chaunced him there to fal in company with that worthy seruant and Martyr of God, William Tindall, and with Miles Couerdale (which both for the hatred they bare to papish superstition and idolatry, and loue to true religion, had forsaken their native country). In conferring with them the scriptures, he came to great knowledge in the Gospell of God, in so much that he cast of the heauy yoke of Popery, perceiuyng it to be impure and filthy Idolatry, and ioyned himselfe with them two in that paynefull & most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the Englishe tongue, which is intituled: The Translation of Thomas Mathew."

<sup>1</sup> For his view of biblical allegories and their legitimate exposition, one of the pithiest passages in his writings, see the *Preface to Leviticus* (Mombert, p. 294).

learn as from other biography, with added force because of the relation of these ancient worthies to events supreme in their sacred significance. The marginal notes which so scandalized Sir Thomas More and Tyndale's other enemies, lacking, as they sometimes are, in good taste, as when he appends to the inspired text sarcastic flings at the Pope and the bishops, convey to the modern reader a sense of reality and candor.<sup>1</sup> Here was a man for whom the Bible was a living book, in vital touch with the affairs of distant ages, having its lessons for priest and plowman, king and subject, master and servant, saint and sinner. As contrasted with the older exegetes and with the post-Reformation reactionary school, Tyndale stands revealed to us as in many respects a modern of the moderns in his attitude toward the older Scriptures.

Holding such a view of the meaning of the law and the prophets of Israel, he certainly did not look upon his arduous task of translating the Old Testament as an irksome undertaking, to be got through with in the easiest way possible, merely to complete his version of the Bible. Rather did he regard this great undertaking as the crowning achievement of his life, and gave to it all the learning and enthusiasm with which he carried through the earlier works of his exile. When the news came to him at Vilvorde that his days were numbered, and he faced death with his task more than half undone, it must have been the bitterest disappointment to him to know that the matchless poetry of the Psalms, the pleadings and warnings and promises of the prophets, must be rendered by other hands than his. History has shown that his successors were capable of carrying on the work in the same large spirit with which he began it, falling naturally into the style which he originated; so that the English Old Testament, as we have it, shows no break, but is essentially a literary unit. But the fact that the men who gave us the English Psalms and Proverbs and Isaiah could doubtless have translated the historical books as well as Tyndale, had his version never been begun, should not lead us to belittle the worth of that beginning, nor to underrate its influence on the subsequent history of our Bible.

We shall inquire, first, under what circumstances Tyndale gained his knowledge of Hebrew; second, what sources he used in his version of the Pentateuch and to what extent his work was original; third, what influence his version exerted upon later translations and upon English literature. These are the three phases of the subject upon which there has been most controversy among those writers who have dealt with the matter at all, and upon which no agreement has been reached. The uncertainty which

<sup>1</sup> See Demaus, p. 238.

still prevails is due in part to scanty evidence, in part to preconceived theories.<sup>1</sup>

It will be desirable, before considering the first question, to introduce an outline of Tyndale's life, to serve as a groundwork for chronological references. The sources are not abundant. Foxe's account in the *Acts and Monuments* is the basis of all the later narratives. While biographers accept large portions of it as authentic, they reject certain statements which conflict with other sources, with less hesitation because of Foxe's well-known inaccuracy in matters of historical data. To Foxe must be added the indirect evidence in the controversial works of Sir Thomas More directed against Tyndale, a voluminous correspondence preserved in the English state papers bearing upon the attempts first to apprehend Tyndale, and afterward to induce him to return to England as a tool of the ministry; and a few scanty but interesting hints in the Belgian state papers relating to the imprisonment and trial. Autobiographical references in Tyndale's own writings are the most important of all, but these are unfortunately too rare and ambiguous to give much assistance in correcting the romancing instinct of Foxe and filling the large gaps left by existing documents. The materials have been worked up in Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, Westcott's *History of the English Bible*, and similar works; but most elaborately and impartially in the standard biography by R. Demaus (London, 1871), which has not been superseded and is not likely to be. It is based upon a careful study of the sources, and is marked by judicious, but not intemperate, admiration of the great reformer. Mr. Demaus had access to many manuscript records not known to the earlier biographers, spent years in the unraveling of ingenious clues, and produced what will probably continue to be the authoritative life. For the study of Tyndale's New Testament in its historical and bibliographical phases there is a much larger body of literature, including bibliographical collations, facsimiles, reprints, etc. But for his life, particularly his work on the Old Testament, not much can be added to the list given above. The article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (Vol. LVII, p. 428) by Edward Irving Carlyle is longer than that in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* or other general works of reference, but contains no new material, and appears to be based chiefly on Demaus.

William Tyndale was born in Gloucestershire<sup>2</sup> between 1480 and 1490. The date 1484 assumed by Demaus rests upon general considera-

<sup>1</sup> On the subject of Tyndale's Hebrew Scholarship see Demaus, pp. 217, 233-37; Mombert, p. lxxxvi; *Athenæum*, 1885, pp. 500, 562, an unsigned review of Mombert's book. <sup>2</sup> Foxe, "About the Borders of Wales" (p. 1075).

tions rather than upon direct evidence. Of his early life next to nothing is known. He was sent to Oxford, entered in Magdalen Hall perhaps about 1504, and spent some years in the university, winning the bachelor's and master's degrees. This was the period when the mediaeval seclusion of Oxford was being invaded by disciples of the new learning from the continent, and Greek studies were enthusiastically prosecuted by the younger men. Grocyn and Linacre were teaching the classic Greek; Latimer and Colet lectured on the Greek Testament. The influence of Colet, particularly of his lectures on the Pauline epistles, must be regarded as fundamental in forming the opinions of young Tyndale. In 1510 Erasmus of Rotterdam began his five years of residence at the sister University of Cambridge, whither Tyndale went to continue his studies. Here he imbibed the bold and radical views of the great Dutch scholar, whose contempt for the obscurantist policy of the church led him into utterances that aroused the hostility of the authorities. Demaus suggests that Tyndale's great purpose of translating the Scriptures may have been incited, or at least strengthened, by the views of Erasmus as expressed in a famous passage of his works.

How long Tyndale remained at Cambridge is not certain. By 1521, if not earlier, he returned to his native county of Gloucester to serve as tutor and chaplain in the family of Sir John Walsh.<sup>1</sup> Even in this remote country parish his radical opinions excited controversy among the neighboring clergy, and he was rebuked by the chancellor of the diocese.<sup>2</sup> It was during the two years spent there that his plan of translating the New Testament took form. In this purpose he was not moved by the example of Luther; for Luther's translation did not appear until 1522, and Tyndale can hardly have known much of Luther's plans prior to this time. Rather was this great purpose based on a conviction that reformation of the church in England must come in large part through enlightenment of the common people, who could not read the Vulgate and were kept in ignorance by the clergy. It was in controversy with a learned man of the community, says Foxe, that Tyndale uttered his famous promise: "I defie the Pope and all his lawes: and further added, that if God spared hym life, ere many yeares he would cause a boy that driueth the plough to know more of the Scripture, then he did."<sup>3</sup>

In 1523 the young scholar, full of enthusiasm and hope, departed for London, where he expected to secure the patronage of the new bishop, Tunstal, a man known to be interested in the Greek studies of Erasmus

<sup>1</sup> Foxe spells the name Welche (p. 1075).

<sup>2</sup> Foxe, p. 1075.

<sup>3</sup> Foxe, p. 1076.

and More. His reception was unfavorable. The bishop, whatever his academic sympathies may have been, was an uncompromising opponent of the Lutheran doctrines then spreading through England, and dismissed Tyndale without encouragement. Having failed to secure recognition for his project from the man who seemed the most likely ecclesiastic in England to afford such help, he saw that he must work henceforth independently and in secret. For some months he resided in London with a wealthy merchant, to whom he had been introduced by Latimer, Humphrey Monmouth. In Monmouth's household he found that sympathy which had been denied him at the episcopal palace, met many learned men, and made some progress in his studies. Having learned that he could not with safety issue his translation in his native land, he left London in May, 1524, for Germany. Henceforth he was an exile; and his great work for the English nation was wrought in a foreign land, aided by foreign scholars, recognized during his lifetime only by the faithful Monmouth and a small group of courageous Englishmen who were later numbered among the humbler leaders of the English Reformation.

Reaching Hamburg, he lost no time in journeying to the Saxon city of Wittenberg to see Luther.<sup>1</sup> He arrived at this Mecca of reformers at a somewhat inopportune time for personal intercourse with the apostle of German Protestantism. Luther was in the midst of the busiest period of his career, when the land was torn asunder with the struggle known as the Peasants' War, and with the political upheaval consequent upon the contest between Leo X and the German states. Luther had published his New Testament two years before, and was now issuing controversial pamphlets, preaching in the university church, and working on his Old Testament. Nothing is definitely known of the personal relations of the English visitor with his German colleague. Those who deny that Tyndale made any use of Luther's labors go so far as to reject altogether the statements of early writers as to this visit to Wittenberg, but without sufficient reason. Assuming that these contemporary accounts are correct, Tyndale must have enjoyed in the university town a measure of quiet and sympathy which enabled him to make rapid progress with his version of the New Testament. Hebrew and Greek had been taught in the university for years. Disciples of Johann Reuchlin, the father of German Hebraists, were to be found there, as well as Greek scholars and theologians. During the nine or ten months of his sojourn Tyndale

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas More, *Dialogue, Conjuration*; Cochlæus, *Commentarii de actis et scriptis M. Lutheri*, p. 132; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1076. Demaus, pp. 94-97. *Contra*, Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible*, pp. 24 ff.

probably began his acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue, facilities for which were greater at Wittenberg than at Hamburg, Cologne, or Worms—cities where he spent the following years. For at Wittenberg he might have the assistance in his Hebrew studies of Christian scholars; while in the other cities he must depend chiefly or entirely upon Jewish instructors, many of whom were still suspicious of Christians desiring their aid.

With the help of his amanuensis, William Roye, an eccentric person who gave him more trouble than his work was worth, Tyndale translated the New Testament in less than a year. Believing it to be impolitic to have his work bear the imprint of a Wittenberg printer, and so expose it at the start to the censorship of German and English enemies, he removed to Cologne, after a trip to Hamburg to receive a remittance of funds from Monmouth. The printing of the book at Cologne was interrupted by the discovery of his project through the investigations of Cochläus, an agent of the church. With the sheets of the first part of the book, Tyndale and Roye hurried away in time to escape arrest, and resumed the enterprise in the safer refuge of the city of Worms, already a center of the Protestant movement. Here, from the press of Peter Schoeffer, was issued in 1526 the octavo Testament of Tyndale. The quarto sheets of the earlier portion brought from Cologne were also, it is believed, completed in that form, by Schoeffer or some other printer, and thus two editions were put into circulation. The only complete copies now in existence, however, are all of the octavo edition. Buschius states that six thousand copies of the Testament were printed at Worms,<sup>1</sup> and this has been supposed to include both editions. Of these six thousand only one incomplete quarto and two octavos are now extant.

Within a few months of its publication, Tyndale's anonymous translation reached England. In the spring of 1526 it was secretly circulated in large numbers. Coming soon to the notice of the authorities, it was condemned by Tunstal and others, at first without knowledge of its authorship, regarded simply as the work of the Lutherans, whose activity was becoming notorious. The burning of such copies as could be seized did not retard its circulation. An unauthorized reprint by Christopher of Endhoven at Antwerp<sup>2</sup> helped to swell the supply needed to meet the growing demand. Desperate attempts were made in England to buy up and destroy all copies that could be found. This brisk demand merely moved the Dutch printers to issue still another edition. Their two editions are said by George Joye to have numbered about five thousand copies. The

<sup>1</sup> Spalatinus' Diary in Schelhorn, *Amoenitates literariae*, IV, 231.

<sup>2</sup> Demaus, p. 157.

investigations set on foot by Tunstal and Wolsey finally succeeded in fixing the responsibility for the translation upon Tyndale and Roye. But Roye, already separated from his master because of his erratic habits, had been lost track of, and Tyndale managed for the time to elude the emissaries of the English prelates.

In 1527 he left Worms. Direct evidence of his residence for the next two years is lacking. For reasons of prudence he took care to keep his movements secret. It has been assumed, however, by biographers, from certain indications, that he made his home in the university town of Marburg, a center of Reformation influence second only to Wittenberg itself.<sup>1</sup> Here, in common with other reformers, he would enjoy the powerful protection of the Protestant Landgraf Philip of Hesse-Cassel, and the advantages of the new Protestant University of Marburg founded by that ruler. Here also there was a printing establishment less likely to be invaded by English spies than those at Cologne and Worms, conducted by Hans Luft.<sup>2</sup> Among his associates here was the learned Hermann Buschius, whom he had already met at Worms, and whose testimony to his learning is worthy of note.<sup>3</sup> Another illustrious man whom Tyndale probably met at Marburg was the Scottish protomartyr Patrick Hamilton, who spent a few months there in 1527 with three companions.

In the following spring, May 8, 1528, Tyndale issued from the press of Hans Luft his *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, a work on the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith, and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, treating of the duties of a Christian citizen in his religious, family, social, and civic relations. Of the contents of these important works, and their bearing upon the English Reformation, this is not the place to speak.

During 1529 the attacks on Tyndale from English sources increased in violence. In particular the pamphlet campaign of Sir Thomas More against him began; a controversy which was renewed several years later and led to some of Tyndale's ablest polemic writings. During that year Tyndale visited Antwerp, presumably in connection with arrangements for promoting the exportation of his New Testament and other works. It happened that More and Tunstal were then on the continent assisting in the negotiation of the Treaty of Cambray; and Tunstal went

<sup>1</sup> Demaus, chap. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Mombert attempts to show that "Malborow in the land of Hesse" is not Marburg, but a pseudonym for Wittenberg. He presents arguments tending to show that Hans Luft was never in Marburg. See his preface, p. xxix. Cf., *contra*, *Athenæum*, 1885, pp. 500 ff.

<sup>3</sup> P. 22.



to Antwerp in the hope of seizing some of Tyndale's Testaments. As in the former case, the purchase of a large supply for confiscation was easily effected, but the publication of further editions was thereby made possible. There is uncertainty as to Tyndale's movements during 1529. Foxe relates<sup>1</sup> that the translator sailed from Antwerp for Hamburg, was wrecked, with the loss of all his books and manuscripts, reached Hamburg by another ship, and spent some months there, from Easter to December, translating, with Coverdale's aid, the entire Pentateuch. The reference to Coverdale is not accepted as very important by biographers, as Coverdale could hardly have aided Tyndale in the actual task of translation, being at that time but slightly acquainted with Hebrew. The entire incident is believed by Demaus<sup>2</sup> to be confused or misdated, as it conflicts with the Antwerp anecdote about Tunstal, which is placed in the late summer of 1529. Demaus thinks it probable that, instead of going to Hamburg at this time, Tyndale returned to Marburg; and, if so, may have been present at the famous debate between Luther and Zwingli upon the eucharist, which led to the final separation between the German and the Swiss reformers.

Whether the work of translating the Pentateuch was accomplished at Hamburg or at Marburg, it was completed by the latter part of 1529; for the Genesis bears the imprint of Hans Luft, the Marburg printer, under date of January 17, 1530. The Pentateuch was not printed as a whole, but the several books appear to have been issued at brief intervals, perhaps in two groups, which were bound together. Genesis and Numbers are in black-letter; Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, in roman type. No satisfactory explanation has been given of this diversity of type. Some have supposed that the three books in roman were published in some other city, but Demaus finds that all five books have the same form, the same style of ornamental title-pages, and the same paper. Each book has an introduction, marginal notes, and a glossary of Hebrew words and proper names containing the etymology of these terms as understood by the translator.

Having seen his Pentateuch safely through the press, Tyndale entered upon the most important of his controversial works, *The Practice of Prelates*. This was an attack upon the hierarchy, particularly the Pope and the English bishops, in which their excesses and extortions were satirically compared with the simplicity of the New Testament church polity. Wolsey came in for special denunciation for his selfish ambition, not alone from

<sup>1</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1077.

<sup>2</sup> P. 220.

the point of view of an ecclesiastical reformer, but considered from Tyndale's position as a patriot and still loyal supporter of the king.

The attacks of Sir Thomas More upon Tyndale were instigated by Tunstal, who wrote to him March 7, 1528,<sup>1</sup> requesting that he undertake the defense of the Catholic faith against Lutheran heretics. More was the most learned man in England, a Greek scholar, friend of Erasmus and Colet, author of *Utopia*, a defender hitherto of liberal principles in religion and government. The singular contrast between his previous career and the bitterness and narrowness displayed by him toward his exiled fellow-countryman, Tyndale, is one of the puzzles of literary history. The first volume of this controversy, *A Dialogue of Sir Thomas More, Knight . . . wherein he treated divers matters . . . with many other things touching the pestilent sect of Luther and Tyndale*, appeared in June, 1529, just before More left for Cambray. Tyndale worked on his reply during 1530 and published it at Amsterdam in 1531. More answered in 1532 with his *Confutation*, following this up with passages in the *Debellation of Salem and Byzance*, the *Apology*, and the *Answer to the Poisoned Book*. Much of More's bitterness was due to Tyndale's mistaken charge that the lord chancellor had been moved by mercenary motives in undertaking the task of defending the church against the reformers. The subject-matter of the volumes on both sides covers the whole field of the Reformation dogmas, the alleged abuses of the church, and the merits and defects of Tyndale's version. Notwithstanding More's superior learning in general history and politics, and the great advantage he possessed because of his official position and his intimate acquaintance with the rapidly changing internal affairs of England, he was unquestionably worsted in the argument. In his later works he shows that he himself felt this, and from urbane controversy he descends to vulgar and malicious abuse.

Tyndale in his *Obedience of a Christian Man* had laid down principles in regard to the supremacy of the state over the church in all civil affairs which now became popular in court circles at home. For Wolsey had been superseded by Thomas Cromwell, and it was Cromwell's plan to assert the rights of the king against the claims of the Pope. This new premier, only superficially acquainted with Tyndale's writings, believed that a pamphleteer so acute and eloquent might render valuable service in this campaign. He therefore, without full consultation with the king, directed the envoy at Antwerp, Stephen Vaughan, to ascertain on what terms Tyndale would return to England. It appears that this was not a scheme to entrap Tyndale and then put him out of the way, but a genuine

<sup>1</sup> Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 711; Demaus, p. 263.

attempt to bring him back as an ally in the new policy inaugurated by Cromwell. Vaughan, after some correspondence with Tyndale, had three interviews with him at Antwerp during the early months of 1531, and was completely won over by the evident sincerity and power of the supposed retic. He could not, however, persuade the exile to risk his liberty and his life by setting foot in England, where More and Tunstal were still breathing out slaughter against him. Meantime Tyndale's *Practice of Prelates* having come to the notice of Cromwell and of his royal master, the situation suddenly changed. *The Obedience of a Christian Man* was a pleasing book in a king's ears. *The Practice of Prelates* was rank heresy and treason. Cromwell, by Henry's command, made Vaughan cease his efforts to enlist Tyndale in the king's service. Before long Vaughan was superseded at Antwerp by a man of another stamp, Sir Thomas Elyot, and the attitude toward Tyndale became one of hostility. But for a time the exile evaded his enemies.

During that year, 1531, he translated and published a translation of the book of Jonah, with a prologue. Subsequently he suspended his translation work in order to enter upon the task of expounding the Scripture. In 1531 appeared his exposition of the First Epistle of John. In 1532, after he had left Antwerp, and while he was roaming from one German city to another, an exposition of the Sermon on the Mount was published. This was to some extent based on Luther's homilies on the same portion of Scripture, but was nevertheless an original work. In 1533 there was published anonymously at Nuremberg a treatise entitled *The Supper of the Lord . . . wherein incidentally More's letter against John Fryth is confuted*. This is attributed to Tyndale; it is an exposition of the sixth chapter of John. Written to defend Tyndale's friend John Fryth, now under arrest in England, it was without avail. Fryth, who had been with Tyndale on the continent much of the time since 1528, and was his closest companion, was tried, condemned, and suffered martyrdom July 4, 1533.

The vigor of the pursuit of Tyndale having now temporarily abated, he settled again in Antwerp, and spent about two years there quietly, busy with the revision of the Pentateuch and the New Testament. New editions of both were issued in 1534. In the revised edition of the Pentateuch the textual changes were confined to the book of Genesis.<sup>1</sup> Some alterations were made in the glossaries and prologues. The revision of the New Testament was radical and extensive. Prologues and marginal notes were also added. This revised edition was preceded by an unauthorized and garbled edition of the Testament by Tyndale's former friend,

<sup>1</sup> See a collation of these alterations in Mombert, p. ciii.

George Joye, who introduced a few changes for doctrinal reasons, and sought a scholar's credit for a piece of literary piracy. It led to a bitter controversy between him and Tyndale. Early in 1535 Tyndale had a second revision ready for the press, but was arrested before its publication.

The plot by which the great translator fell into the hands of his enemies was not instigated by King Henry nor by the dominant party in England, now by no means ill disposed toward him. It was rather the work of the Catholic reactionaries, foiled in their attempt to prevent Henry's breach with Rome, and furious against Tyndale as one of the leaders in the Protestant movement, as he was also the most defenseless. Betrayed through the treachery of a supposed friend, Henry Philips, he was arrested in the streets of Antwerp by the officers of the Emperor Charles V, and imprisoned in the castle of Vilvorde, eighteen miles away. The date of his arrest is fixed by a document still in the archives at Brussels at about May 23, 1535.

Efforts were made to save him from the heretic's fate. His friend Thomas Poyntz, at whose house he had resided for a year, risked his own life in the vain attempt to change the determination of the authorities. Cromwell, when appealed to, used some pressure to obtain the same end, but failed. The trial, before a special commission, occupied several months in 1536. Tyndale answered the elaborate charges of his prosecutors with ability and eloquence, but the conclusion was foregone. In mid-summer sentence of death was passed upon him. During his prison life he pursued his studies so far as he was able. A Latin letter written by him to the governor of the prison, requesting warmer clothing, candles, and the use of his Hebrew books, is still extant. On October 6, 1536, he suffered martyrdom at Vilvorde, being first strangled and then burned.<sup>1</sup>

Having before us this outline of Tyndale's life, the first question bearing upon the subject of this paper is: Where and how did he learn Hebrew?

The answer to this question must be wholly inferential. Tyndale, so far as can be judged from the history of his early life, knew nothing of Hebrew when he left England in May, 1524. He was to some extent acquainted with Hebrew before writing *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, published in the spring of 1528. He translated the Pentateuch in 1529. This fixes the period of his first Hebrew studies upon which his translation was based between 1524 and 1528.

<sup>1</sup> Foxe tells, in much detail, the story of the arrest, imprisonment, and efforts to save Tyndale's life (pp. 1077-79).

Between his arrival in Germany in 1524 and his arrest in 1535, Tyndale spent his time in the following cities, so far as can be discovered or surmised:

Hamburg: May, 1524  
 Wittenberg: May, 1524-April, 1525  
 Hamburg: April, 1525  
 Cologne: April-September, 1525  
 Worms: October, 1525-. . . (?) 1527  
 Marburg(?): . . . 1527-August, 1529  
 Antwerp: August, 1529  
 Hamburg(?): . . . 1529  
 Marburg: December, 1529-. . . 1530  
 Antwerp: 1531-1535

Since his stay at Hamburg in May, 1524, and again in April, 1525, was brief, and the period of not more than five months spent at Cologne was occupied with the printing of the unfinished quarto New Testament, Tyndale learned his Hebrew in Wittenberg, Worms, and Marburg. Inasmuch as the early months of his stay at Wittenberg must have been chiefly occupied with the translation of the New Testament, not to mention the acquisition of the German language, we may probably place the earliest date of his Hebrew studies in the beginning of 1525; and inasmuch as the translation of the Pentateuch must have occupied the most of 1529, the study of the language preparatory to that task can hardly have continued much beyond 1528. This leaves four years during which Tyndale may have labored steadily or at intervals upon the Hebrew grammar and Scriptures. But there is evidence that by the second year of this period he had already made much progress in the language. Herman Buschius, one of the group of German Humanists which included Reuchlin, Erasmus, Ulrich von Hutten, and other leaders in the revival of learning, met Tyndale at Worms before August 11, 1526, and told Spalatin that the Englishman who translated the New Testament was "so skilled in seven languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, English, French, that whichever he spoke you would suppose it his native tongue."<sup>1</sup> We must allow for some exaggeration in this statement, since it is highly improbable that Tyndale could actually converse with any fluency in Hebrew, and unlikely that he had much fluency in the Italian and Spanish. But the words of Buschius, recorded by a disinterested third person, certainly show that Tyndale had made more than a beginning in Hebrew when he had been in Worms only about nine months. We are led therefore to assume a period of elementary study at Wittenberg during the latter months of his

<sup>1</sup> Diary of Spalatinus, printed in Schelhorn, *Amoenitates literariae*, IV, 431.

stay there (January-April, 1525); a partial interruption, possibly, during the busy period of getting the New Testament to press at Cologne and Worms (April-December, 1525); a renewed study, under Jewish guidance, at Worms during 1526 and part of the following year; and a further period of study in a university atmosphere with scholarly associates at Marburg, 1527-29.

It will now be necessary to examine the evidence for the theory above outlined as to the time and places of Tyndale's Hebrew studies. That he knew no Hebrew when he left England in May, 1524, is to be inferred from three considerations. First, Hebrew was not taught at Oxford or Cambridge prior to that time. Second, in the absence of Christian teachers at the universities, Tyndale, so far as we can judge, had no opportunity of learning from Jewish instructors during his sojourn in London (1523-24). There is no evidence that any impulse had yet reached England from the enthusiastic campaign of Hebrew study in Germany started by the Pfefferkorn-Reuchlin controversy. Third, there is no evidence that copies of the *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae* of Reuchlin (1506) or other grammatical manuals had reached England during Tyndale's residence at the universities. So we conclude, in the absence of any proof or contemporary hint to the contrary, that neither from Christians, Jews, nor books did Tyndale learn anything of Hebrew in England.

Evidence of the progress of Tyndale's Hebrew studies, in addition to the testimony of Buschius in the summer of 1526, is found in the two doctrinal treatises published in the spring of 1528, *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*.

In *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* appears this remark on the word "Mammon":

First, Mammon is a Hebrew word and signifieth riches or temporal goods, namely all superfluity, and all that is above necessity and that which is required unto our necessary uses wherewith a man may help another without undoing or hurting himself: for *hamon* in the Hebrew speech, signifies a multitude or abundance of money, and thence cometh *mahamon* or *mammon*, abundance or plenteousness of goods or riches.<sup>1</sup>

In *The Obedience of a Christian Man* is this comment on the Hebrew idiom:

St. Jerome also translated the Bible into the mother tongue, why may not we also? They will say it cannot be translated into our tongue, it is so rude. It is not so rude as they are false liars. For the Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue

<sup>1</sup> *The Fathers of the English Church*, Vol. I, p. 123.

agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one, so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English word for word, when thou must seek a compass in the Latin.<sup>1</sup>

With reference to the places where Tyndale learned Hebrew and the sources of his knowledge many inferential conclusions can be drawn from the well-known history of the Talmud controversy which ushered in the Reformation.

Johann Reuchlin was the first German Christian to study Hebrew. Born at Pforzheim in 1455, educated in Greek at Paris and Basel, he became a teacher of the classics, though also practicing the profession of law. In middle life, after a brilliant career in diplomatic service, he began the serious study of Hebrew with Loans, the Jewish physician to the emperor Frederick III. In 1498 at Rome he continued these studies with another learned Jew, Obadiah Sforzo. Returning to Germany, he began to teach the language to the many eager humanists at Heidelberg, Stuttgart, and other cities where the Greek learning was already cultivated. In 1506 he issued his *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae*, the first Hebrew grammar in a European language for the use of Christians, if we except the brief and imperfect sketch published in 1503 by Conrad Pellicanus, who had learned something of the language by working over Hebrew manuscripts almost without instruction. In 1512 Reuchlin issued the Hebrew text of the penitential Psalms with grammatical notes. He was regarded as the most learned Hebraist in Germany, though during the first decade of the century numerous competent scholars had followed his example and studied the language under the guidance of learned Jews in Germany, Italy, and France.

When therefore in 1509 an attack on the Jews and confiscation of their books were planned by certain of the Dominican monks of Cologne, led by John Pfefferkorn, it was to Reuchlin that the emperor, Maximilian, referred this subject to investigate and report. His reply, defending the Jewish books against the charge of insulting Christianity, angered his enemies beyond measure. A controversy ensued which lasted for six years, and ultimately involved all the representative men of Germany on one side or the other; the Humanists siding with Reuchlin in defense of the Jews, the ecclesiastics and many of the university faculties against him. Though Reuchlin escaped condemnation in the proceedings brought against him for his refusal to recant, he suffered much abuse and material

<sup>1</sup> *Doctrinal Treatises and Introductions to Different Portions of the Holy Scriptures* (Parker Society edition, 1848), p. 148.

losses for his stand. It was the indignation aroused among the liberals by the bigotry displayed in this controversy, together with the satires of the *Encomium Moriae* and the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, which prepared the way for the Lutheran Reformation.

The bearing of this Reuchlin-Pfefferkorn controversy upon the general introduction of Hebrew instruction into German universities is obvious. When the young Humanists, hitherto content with the newly discovered riches of the Greek classics, found themselves forbidden by the obscurantist party in the church to read the dangerous Jewish works or to attempt to study the Old Testament in the original, that was the very thing they were the most eager to do. Accordingly, the natural course of events was hastened; the Hebrew instruction, which under normal conditions might have taken a generation to spread through the universities, and become popular, sprang at once into a place second only to Greek. The demand for teachers sent many men to Reuchlin, Sebastian Münster, Pellicanus, and the other pioneers, for grounding in the hitherto despised language. Textbooks were issued in rapid succession.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, when Tyndale reached Germany, Hebrew was no longer a novelty in the centers of learning. Reuchlin was dead, but his younger associates and pupils were fairly well equipped to carry on his work.

<sup>1</sup> The following list of Hebrew textbooks published from 1500 to 1530 is given in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. Many of these ran through several editions.

- 1504. Pellicanus, Conrad. *De modo legendi et intelligendi Hebraeum* (Strasburg).
- 1506. Reuchlin, Johann. *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae una cum Lexico* (Pforzheim).
- 1508. Tissardus, Franciscus. *Grammatica Hebraica et Graeca* (Paris).
- 1513-1521. Guidaccarius, Agathius. *Institutiones Graecae Hebraicae* (Rome).
- 1516. Capito, W. F. *Institutiuncula in Hebraicam Linguam* (Basel).
- 1518. Boeschenstein, John. *Hebraicae Grammaticae Institutiones* (Wittenberg).
- 1502. Münster, Sebastian. *Epitome Hebraicae Grammaticae* (Basel).
- 1520. Pagninus, Sanct. *Institutiones Hebraicae* (Lyons).
- 1522. Anonymous. *Rudimenta Hebraicae Grammaticae* (Basel).
- 1524. Münster, Sebastian. *Institutiones Grammaticae in Hebraicam Linguam* (Basel).
- 1525. Aurigallus, Matthew. *Compendium Hebraicae Chaldaeeque Grammaticae* (Wittenberg).
- 1526. Zamorensis, Alphonsus. *Introductiones Artis Grammaticae Hebraicae* (Complutum).
- 1528. Van Campen, John. *Ex Variis Libellis Eliae . . . quidquid ad Graecam Hebraicam est necessarium* (Louvain).
- 1528. Fabricius, Theodorus. *Institutiones Linguae Sanctae* (Cologne).
- 1528. Pagninus, Sanct. *Institutionum Hebraicarum Abbreuiatio* (Lyons).
- 1520. Clendardus, Nicolas. *Tabulae in Graecam Hebraicam* (Louvain).
- 1530. Sebastianus, Augustus. *Grammatica Linguae Ebraeae* (Marburg).



Chairs of Hebrew existed at Heidelberg, Wittenberg,<sup>1</sup> and perhaps at others of the universities, while one was established at the new University of Marburg about the time of Tyndale's arrival there.

When Tyndale, in the year 1529, set about the work of translating the Pentateuch, his equipment for the task was by no means meager. He had, first of all, acquired facility in the difficult art of translation by his New Testament. In that task he had chosen the style which seemed best fitted for rendering the Scriptures—a style so simple in its structure, so close to the paratactic quality of Hellenic Greek, that it is well-nigh transparent. The reader imagines he is reading the one inevitable, obvious sentence which alone could render the original into English; and not until it is compared with the painful artificialities of modern attempts to translate the New Testament into contemporary speech, not until the scholar compares Tyndale's Testament with the current English of the early Tudor period, is the full significance of this first modern version perceived. Those who are never content to leave a writer more than the merest vestige of originality point to Wiclif's version, and seek by parallel columns to demonstrate Tyndale's heavy indebtedness of Wiclif. It is not to be denied that manuscript copies of Wiclif's Testament circulated freely as late as the latter half of the fifteenth century, and that Tyndale was, of course, familiar with it. Neither can it be denied that in the choice of words, notwithstanding the obsolete diction of the earlier translator, Tyndale was often content to adopt phrases that commended themselves to him. No friend of Tyndale needs to exalt him by depreciating Wiclif. But Tyndale expressly declares that he was not dependent on his predecessor, making his own translation throughout rather than revising the old.<sup>2</sup>

On the question of Tyndale's English style as a translator we have fortunately a considerable basis for comparison in his voluminous doctrinal, controversial, and expository works. As might be expected, in these writings the sentences are longer, the rhetorical balance more elaborate; but both in invective and in exhortation, in the biting epigram and the eloquent homily, we find evidence of that genius for cadences and rhythmic flow of syllables which marks our English Bible above all other works of English prose. The only writers of his age in whom we find this style

<sup>1</sup> Among the Hebraists in Luther's circle at Wittenberg were Matthæus Aurogallus, Johann Forster, Bernhard Ziegler, and George Rörer. See Buchwald, *Doktor Martin Luther*, p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> "I had no man to counterfeit, neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like another in the Scripture beforetime" ("Epistle to the Reader," subjoined to the New Testament).

developed, with its nice balance of the Latin and Anglo-Saxon words and syntax, are Latimer, in his sermons, for the short sentence and pithy phrase, and Cranmer, translator of the larger part of the *Prayer Book* for the rhythms. It was not the common style of learned men in the reign of Henry VIII. Sir Thomas More shows few traces of it. He writes a Latinized English without flexibility and without melody. The English version of the *Utopia* is, of course, not by More at all, but by one Ralph Robinson, and belongs to the following generation.

This style of Tyndale's, which set the fashion for Coverdale and all his successors, owes not a little of its charm to the fact that it was shaped in its phrasing by the loose syntactical structure of the Greek Testament. It is to be noted that among the numerous translations of the Early Tudor period those from the French—for example, Lord Berners' version of Froissart—most nearly approach this style of Tyndale's; and for the obvious reason that the translator in each case happened to be too good a scholar to paraphrase in Latinized periods a narrative told in short words and co-ordinate clauses. We have but to compare Tyndale at his worst—that is, in his most vehement tirades against More—with the typical pamphlets and formal correspondence of Henry's reign, to feel instantly the individuality of the man and his feeling for the new English prose that had so lately come into being.

If this was the first and one of the most important of Tyndale's qualifications, when he undertook the translation of the Pentateuch, a second was his Hebrew studies, already referred to. The apparatus at his command can be estimated with some approach to probability.

For Hebrew grammar he had at his command the considerable number of textbooks enumerated above, of which those by Reuchlin (1506), Münster (1520), and the two published at Wittenberg by the leading Hebraists there, Boeschenstein (1518) and Aurigallus (1525), were probably his chief authorities, since they would naturally be the most accessible.

For lexicons he had the vocabulary accompanying Reuchlin's *Rudimenta* (1506), Sebastian Münster's *Lexicon hebraicum chaldaicum* (Basel, 1508, 1523), and perhaps Pagninus' *Thesaurus linguae sanctae sive lexicon hebraicum* (Lyons, 1529).

For the Hebrew text there was no want of printed editions. At least five had been printed in Italy and Spain since 1488, the most popular of which was that of Bomberg, published at Venice in 1517. This included the Targum of Onkelos on the Pentateuch, of which Tyndale is supposed by some editors to have made occasional use.

For the Vulgate there were, of course, many printed editions. Of the

Septuagint, editions were to be found in the *Complutensian Polyglot* (1514), the Aldine edition (1518), and the Strasburg edition of 1526.

Luther's translation of the five books of Moses, the first part of his Old Testament, appeared in 1523, and was of course constantly before Tyndale in his work.

The question arises whether Tyndale had with him in Germany a manuscript of the Wiclifite Old Testament by Nicholas de Hereford or its revision by John Purvey, or whether such resemblances as can be traced between these early versions and his are either accidental or due to recollections of a version familiar to him in his youth. These resemblances are much less numerous than in the New Testament, where there is no possible doubt that Tyndale used Wiclif's work. If Foxe's story of the shipwreck on the voyage to Hamburg in 1529 be accepted,<sup>1</sup> we must conclude that any such manuscript of either of the fourteenth-century Old Testament versions, even if Tyndale originally had one and used it in his first draft of Deuteronomy, was lost in that disaster; and it does not seem likely that it could be promptly replaced by friends in England in time to be used in the work on the Pentateuch.

We come now to the central problem of this inquiry: To what extent did Tyndale use the Hebrew in his Pentateuch?

This question is to be decided only by a comparison of his version with the original, with the Vulgate, with Luther's version, and with Hereford's and Purvey's. It is not so easy of settlement as prejudiced writers on either side have attempted to prove. If his authorship of the books from Joshua to Chronicles in Rogers' and Coverdale's Bibles could be assumed, we should have a larger basis for induction. The Pentateuch consists so largely of straightforward narrative, in which alternative renderings of the Masoretic text are seldom possible; it has so few obscurities as compared with the poetical and prophetic books, that we may diligently compare many chapters in Tyndale, Luther, and the Vulgate, as the present writer has done, without being able to find a single datum for our inquiry. On the other hand, there are in the Pentateuch certain well-known difficulties, due either to rare words, poetic diction, or a corrupt text, which afford a more promising field for such study.

It would be manifestly impracticable to present here in parallel columns the several versions of the entire Pentateuch, or of an entire book. Four-fifths of such material would yield negative results. The method chosen, after a comparison of the entire Pentateuch in the manner indicated, is to select such chapters as offer tangible evidence upon one side or the other—

<sup>1</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1077.

Tyndale's originality on the one hand, his dependence on the Vulgate and Luther on the other hand. Words and phrases presenting variations deemed significant for one reason or another are quoted, with their equivalents in the Hebrew, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the two Wiclifite versions, and Luther's version. The first chapter of Genesis is given entire, as a fair specimen of straight narrative prose, and the number and character of data for our inquiry to be found in such prose. Isolated passages from Genesis present further typical examples. From the three considerable poetic pieces in the Pentateuch, Genesis, chap. 49, Deuteronomy, chaps. 32 and 33, are taken such passages as show facts bearing on the discussion; affording, by reason of their difficulties, more numerous tangible instances of dependence or independence than any other portion of the material.

For the Hebrew the Masoretic text is given; for the Septuagint, Swete's text;<sup>1</sup> for the Vulgate, the standard Vatican edition, from a copy printed at Frankfort in 1829 collated with a Venetian edition of 1478 (Newberry Library); for Hereford and Purvey, the edition of the Wiclif Bible by Forshall and Madden (Oxford, 1850); for Luther, a Bible printed at Frankfort in 1583, now in the Newberry Library; for Tyndale, the critical reprint edited by Dr. J. I. Mombert (New York, 1884), the only reprint ever made of Tyndale's Pentateuch. Dr. Mombert's work was conducted with every precaution to insure literal accuracy of reproduction, and is to be depended on so far as the text is concerned. His introduction contains a large amount of bibliographical and other information, together with certain conclusions as to the unsettled historical questions of Tyndale's life, which are at some points in conflict with other authorities. He has also taken the singular course of appending to the text of the Pentateuch, in the form of footnotes, glosses selected from Luther's version and the Rogers Bible of 1537, which at times are confusing to the student. The book was unfavorably reviewed in the *Athenæum* (1885, Vol. I, pp. 500, 562). The reviewer points out many alleged errors in Mombert's bibliographical statements, and ridicules his theory that the Pentateuch was really printed at Wittenberg instead of Marburg. He does not, however, criticise in any respect the fidelity of the reprint of the text of the Pentateuch, with which we are here concerned.

<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew and Greek have been collated with the texts in Walton's *Polyglot* (1657), no copy of the *Complutensian Polyglot* first edition being available. No variations from the modern text were found in the passages herein quoted.



Gen. 1:6	Heb.	LXX	V	II	P	I.	T	REMARKS
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	Dixit quoque Deus:	Dixit quoque Deus:	Seide forsothe God.	And God seide, The	Und Gott sprach: Es	And God sayd: let	Firmament from V
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	Fiat firmamentum	Fiat firmamentum	He maad a firma	firmament be maad	werde ein Feste	there be a fyr	ment betweene
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	in medio-aquarum,	in medio-aquarum,	ment in the myddel	in the myddel of	zwischen den was-	the waters, and	Follows L. against
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	et dividat aquas ab	et dividat aquas ab	of watreis, and	watreis, and depar-	sern I und die sey	let it devyde the	Heb. LXX V II P.
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	aquis.	aquis.	dyvyle it watreis	watreis fro watris.	ein unterscheyd	betweene the	Idiomate instead of
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים			fro watrys.		zwischen den was-	waters a sonder.	literal rendering.
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים					sern.		independent.
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	Et fecit Deus firma-	Et fecit Deus firma-	And God made the	And God made the	Da machet Gott die	Then God made the	
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	mentum, divisique	mentum, divisique	firmament, and	firmament, and de-	Feste I und schel-	firmament and	
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	aquas quae erant	aquas quae erant	dyvuyld watris	partide the watris	det das wasser un-	parted the waters	
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	sub firmamento, ab	sub firmamento, ab	that weren vndre	that weren vndre	ter der Festen I	which were vnder	
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	his, quae erant	his, quae erant	the firmament fro	the firmament fro	von dem wasser	the firmament,	
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	super firmamen-	super firmamen-	thes that weren	these watris that	uber der Festen,	from the waters	
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	tum. Et factum	tum. Et factum	about the firma-	weren on the fir-	Und es geschah	that were above	
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	est ita.	est ita.	ment; and it is	ment; and it	also,	the firmament:	
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים			maad so,	was don so,		And it was so.	
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	Vocavitque Deus fir-	Vocavitque Deus fir-	And God clepide the	And God clepide the	Und Gott nennet die	And God called the	
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	mentum, Cae-	mentum, Cae-	firmament, becu-	firmament becu-	Festen I Himmel,	firmament heaven.	
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	lum; et factum est	lum; et factum est	And maad is cuen	And the cuenid	Da ward ausz	And so of the even-	
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	vespere et mane,	vespere et mane,	and moru, the	and morweld was	abend und morgen	yng and morning	CL vs. 5.
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	dies secundus,	dies secundus,	seconde day.	maad, the seconde	der ander Tag.	was made the	
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים				da.		seconde daye.	
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים							
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	Dixit vero Deus: Con-	Dixit vero Deus: Con-	God forsothe seide,	Forsothe God seide.	Und Gott sprach: Es	And God sayd, let	
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	gregentur aquae,	gregentur aquae,	Gaddid be watris,	The watris, that	sample sich das was-	the waters that are	
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	quae sub caelo	quae sub caelo	the whiche ben	ben vndre becu-	samte sich das was-	vnder hea ven	
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	sunt, in locum	sunt, in locum	vndre becu-	be gaderid in to	mel an sondere	gether them selves	
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	unum, et appareat	unum, et appareat	o place, and apere	place, and a drie	ortet dasz man	vnto one place,	Follows Heb. LXX
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	arida.	arida.	the drie; and maad	place appere; and	tha (2 the drie	tha (2 the drie	V II P against L's
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים			it is so.	it was don so,	das trocken sche-	lande may appere;	loose rendering.
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	Et factum est ita.	Et factum est ita.			Und es geschach	And it came so to	Follows L. as often
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים					also,	pasce.	in correct render-
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים							ing of 7 against
וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים	וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים							LXX V II P.



Gen. 1:13	HEB.	LXX	V	II	P	L	T	REMARKS
	וַיִּהְיֶה עֲרֵב וַיְהִי בֹקֶר יוֹם שְׁלִישִׁי׃	καὶ ἔγενετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἔγενετο πρωί, ἡμέρα τρίτη.	Et factum est vespere et mane, dies ter- tius.	And maad is euen and moru, the third day.	And the euenid and morwetid was maad, the thriddle dai.	Da ward ausz alend und morgen der dritte Tag.	dien of the euen- yng and morn- yng was made the thyrde daye. Then sayd God: let there be lyghtes in ye firmament of heaven to deuyde the daye from the nyghte, that they may be vnto syghes seasons, days & yeres.	
14	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים בְּרָקִיעַ הַשָּׁמַיִם לְחִבּוּל בָּיִן הַיּוֹם יְבִינָה הַלַּיְלָה וְהָיָה לְחִבּוּל לְיָמֵינוּ וְלְיָמֵי הָעוֹלָם׃	καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τοὺς δύο φωστῆρας τοὺς μεγάλους, τοὺς φωστῆρας τῶν μεγάλων εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἡμέ- ρας καὶ τοὺς φω- στῆρας τῶν ἐλάσσων εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς νυκ- τός, καὶ τοὺς ἀστέ- ρας,	Dixit autem Deus: Fiant luminaria in firmamento caeli, et dividant diem ac noctem, et sint in signa et tem- pora, et dies et annos:	God forsothe seide, Be ther maad ligt gyuers in the fir- mament of heuene, and deuyde thei dai and nygt; and be the into signes, and tymes, and dates, and geerts;	And the euenid and morwetid was maad, the thriddle dai.	Und Gott sprach: Es werden Liech- ter   in   dem groz- desz Himmels   die da scheiden tag und nacht   und geben zeichen zeiten, tage und jare	And let them be lyghtes in the fir- mament of heaven, to shyne vpon the erth. & so it was.	Independent render- ing of י as final.
15	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים בְּרָקִיעַ הַשָּׁמַיִם לְחִבּוּל בָּיִן הַיּוֹם יְבִינָה הַלַּיְלָה וְהָיָה לְחִבּוּל לְיָמֵינוּ וְלְיָמֵי הָעוֹלָם׃	καὶ ἐποίησεν εἰς φα- νὸν ἐν τῷ στερω- ματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὥστε φαίνεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐγέν- ετο οὐρανός.	Ut lucent in fir- mamento caeli, et illuminent terram. Et factum est ita.	And ligune thei in the firmament of heuene, and ligune thei the erthe; and maad it is so.	And shyne tho in the firmament of heuene, and ligune tho the erthe; and it was doon so.	Und seyen Læchter an der Feste des Himmels   dasz die schijnen auff der Erden. Und es geschach also.	And God made two great lyghtes. A greater lyghte to rule the daye, & a lesse lyghte to rule the nyghte, and he made sterres also.	Follows L. against Heb. LXX II P in using indefinite article, but not in rendering הַיּוֹם וְהָיָה לְחִבּוּל לְיָמֵינוּ וְלְיָמֵי הָעוֹלָם. P against LXXV II in sup- plying verbo to soften abruptness.
16	וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-שֵׁנֵי אֲלֵמֶת הַבְּרָקִיעַ הַגָּדֹל בְּמַשְׁכֵּת הַיּוֹם וְהָיָה לְחִבּוּל הַקֶּטֶן לְמַשְׁכֵּת הַלַּיְלָה וְהָיָה לְחִבּוּל׃	καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τοὺς δύο φωστῆρας τοὺς μικροὺς, τοὺς φωστῆρας τῶν μικρῶν εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἡμέ- ρας καὶ τοὺς φω- στῆρας τῶν ἐλάσσων εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς νυκ- τός, καὶ τοὺς ἀστέ- ρας,	Fecitque Deus duo luminaria magna: luminaria majus, ut processet diem; et luminaria minus ut processet noctem, et stellae.	And God made two greet ligt gy- uers, the more ligt gyuer that it were before to the daye, and the lesse ligt gyuer that it were before to the nygt, and sterres.	And God made twoi grete lights, the greater ligt that it schulde be before to the dai, and the lesse ligt that it schulde be before to the nygt; and God made sterres;	Und Gott machet zeyw grosse Liech- ter   in   groz- Licht   das den Tag regiere   und ein klein Licht   das die Nacht re- giere   dazu auch Sterne.	And God made two great lyghtes. A greater lyghte to rule the daye, & a lesse lyghte to rule the nyghte, and he made sterres also.	Follows L. against Heb. LXX II P in using indefinite article, but not in rendering הַבְּרָקִיעַ וְהָיָה לְחִבּוּל לְיָמֵינוּ וְלְיָמֵי הָעוֹלָם. P against LXXV II in sup- plying verbo to soften abruptness.











Gen.	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
Gen. 2: 1	הכל צמח	ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν	et omnis ornatu- corum	and al the aworn- ing of hem.	and al the ouner- ment of tho.	mit iren gautzen Heer.	with all their ap- parel:	Rejects L's correct rendering for one of his own not so good.
4	יום	ἡμέρα	in die	in the day	in the day	zu der zeit	in the tyme	Follows L against Heb. LXX V H P.
5	הכלשרים	καὶ πᾶν χλωρον ἀ- γροῦ πρὸ τοῦ γεγε- σθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντα χλωρον ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι	et omne virgultum agri antequam ori- etur in terra. om- nibus herbarum regionis priusquam germinaret	and ech bushe of the feeld or it were grow un in the erthe, and al erbe of region before that it barlownde	and ech lilil tre of erthe before that it sprong out in erthe; and he made ech erbe of the feeld before that it barlownde	und allerley Baume auf dem Felde (die zuvor nie gewest waren auf Erden) Und allerley Kraut auf dem Felde: das zuvor nie ge- wachsen war.	and all the shrubbies of the felde before they were in the erthe. And all the herbes of the feeld before they sprange.	All the versions mis- interpret יום. T follows LXX V, however, not L.
9	מקום	κατὰ ἀνατολὰς	a principio	fro bagynnyng	at the bagynnyng	gegen dem Morgen	(a garden in Eden) from the begyn- nyng	Follows LXX V H P against L's correct rendering.
13	הכל ארץ כוש	— Αἰθιοπίας	Ethiopiae	at the erthe of Ethiopiae	at the boord of Ethiopiae	das gantze Moren- land	all the lande of Inde	An independent con- jecture.
18	עֵצֵר כְּנָנִיד	βοσφῶν κατ' αὐτὸν	adjutorium simile sibi	help like hym.	an help lijk to hym silt	ein Gehülff den umb In sey	an helper to beare him company	Follows L in render- ing כְּנָנִיד
3: 4	לא מית המותד	οὐ θανάτω ἀποθανε- ισθε	nequaquam morte moriemini	Thurg deth ge shal not die	Ge schulen not die bi death	Ir werdet nit nichte desz tods sterben.	tush ye shall not dye	A vigorous independ- ent rendering of the Heb. idiom.
16	הרבה ארבה עצבת הרבה	τὰς αἰσας σου καὶ τὰς στερῶν σου	acrumas tuas et conceptus tuas	thi myseses and thi concepyngis	thi wretchedness and thi conseyn- yngis	Ich wil dir vil schmerzen schaf- fen wenn du schwanger wirst Du solt mit schmerzen Kinder geberen.	I will suerly encrease thy sorrow and make the oft with child	Abandons L's loose paraphrase for an independent ren- dering, showing in the phrase used for הרבה a desire to follow English usage.

	HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
	עפר	γῆ	pulvis	powdre	dust	Erden	erth thou art	Follows LXX and L against Heb. VHP.
Gen. 3:10	וַיִּשְׂרָץ אָדָם וַיִּתְּחַל אֶת לְבָבוֹ וַיִּתְּחַל אֶת הַחֹמֶר וַיִּתְּחַל אֶת הַחֹמֶר	οὐκ εἶπεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος προσεύχων ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἐνέκρινεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνέκρινεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνέκρινεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνέκρινεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνέκρινεν αὐτὸν	Nonne si bene egeris, recipies; sin autem male, statutum in foribus peccatum aderit; sed sub te erit appetitus ejus, et tu dominaberis illius.	Shalt thou not reseyue wel, if thou wel dost; ellis forsothe eucl, anon in the gatis thynnes shal ben at thee? but vndre thee shal be the appetite of hym, and thou shalt haue lordship of hym.	Whether not if thou schalt do wel, thou schalt resseyue; but if thou doist yuele, thi synne schal be present anooun in the gatis? but the desir therof schal be vndur thee, and thou schalt be lord thereof.	Ists nicht also? wenn du fromb bist   so bistu angeneime bistu aber nicht von so ruhet die Sünde für der thür. Aber lasz du   mir iren willen   sonder herrsche uber sie.	Woest thou not if thou dost well thou shalt receiue it? But and yf thou dost euell, by & by thy synne lyeth open in the dore. Notwithstanding let it be subdued unto the, and see thou rule it.	Follows LXX and L against Heb. VHP.
8	וַיִּתְּחַל אֶת לְבָבוֹ וַיִּתְּחַל אֶת הַחֹמֶר וַיִּתְּחַל אֶת הַחֹמֶר	καὶ εἶπεν Κάιν πρὸς Ἀβὲλ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Διέλωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον, στένων καὶ τρέμων	Dixitque Cain ad Abel fratrem suum Egrediamur foras, vagus et profugus occidi virum in vulnus meum, et adulescentulum in livorem meum.	And Caym seide to Abel his brother, Go we out. vagaunt and fer fugitiu	And Cayn seide to Abel his brother, Go we out. vntable of dwelling and fleyng aboute	Da redet Kain mit seinem Bruder Habel. unstät und flüchtig.	And Cain talked with Abell his brother a vagabond & a rennagate.	Follows L in omitting the phrase given by LXX V (H P).
12	וַיִּתְּחַל אֶת לְבָבוֹ וַיִּתְּחַל אֶת הַחֹמֶר וַיִּתְּחַל אֶת הַחֹמֶר	καὶ εἶπεν Κάιν πρὸς Ἀβὲλ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Διέλωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον, στένων καὶ τρέμων	vagus et profugus occidi virum in vulnus meum, et adulescentulum in livorem meum.	vagaunt and fer fugitiu	vntable of dwelling and fleyng aboute	unstät und flüchtig.	a vagabond & a rennagate.	Vagabond suggested by V. Rennagate independent.
23	וַיִּתְּחַל אֶת לְבָבוֹ וַיִּתְּחַל אֶת הַחֹמֶר וַיִּתְּחַל אֶת הַחֹמֶר	καὶ εἶπεν Κάιν πρὸς Ἀβὲλ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Διέλωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον, στένων καὶ τρέμων	occidi virum in vulnus meum, et adulescentulum in livorem meum.	I slowe a man into my wound, and a litle waxen man into my wannesse; generacioun of Adam.	Y haue slayn a man bi my wounds, and a going weyng man bi my violent beyng;	Ich hab einen Mann erschlagen mir zur wunden   und einen Jüngling mir zur beuten.	I have slayne a man and wounded my selfe, & have slayne a yongman & gotte myselfe strypes.	Independent and impossible.
5:1	וַיִּתְּחַל אֶת לְבָבוֹ וַיִּתְּחַל אֶת הַחֹמֶר וַיִּתְּחַל אֶת הַחֹמֶר	γενέσεως ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐνέκρινεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνέκρινεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνέκρινεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνέκρινεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνέκρινεν αὐτὸν	generationis Adam Ambulauitque cum Deo, et non apparuit; quia tulit cum Deus.	And he gede with God, and he aperiede not; for God toke hym.	generacioun of Adam And Enoth geed with God, and apperide not afterward, for God took hym awe.	desz menschen Geschlecht Und dieweil er ein Göttlich Leben führte   nam in Gott hinweg   und ward nicht mehr gesehen.	generation of man against V H P.	Follows LXX and L against V H P.
24	וַיִּתְּחַל אֶת לְבָבוֹ וַיִּתְּחַל אֶת הַחֹמֶר וַיִּתְּחַל אֶת הַחֹמֶר	καὶ ἐνέκρινεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνέκρινεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνέκρινεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνέκρινεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνέκρινεν αὐτὸν	Ambulauitque cum Deo, et non apparuit; quia tulit cum Deus.	And he gede with God, and he aperiede not; for God toke hym.	And Enoth geed with God, and apperide not afterward, for God took hym awe.	Und dieweil er ein Göttlich Leben führte   nam in Gott hinweg   und ward nicht mehr gesehen.	Enoch lyved a goodly life, and was no more sene, for God toke him away	Adopts L's phrase instead of Heb. V H P.

Gen. 6: 1	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים	καὶ θυγατέρας ἐγένοντο τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ	et filias procreas- sent	and hadden brought forth dowgris	and hadden gen- drid dougris	und zeugeten jnen Töchter	had begot them daughters	Follows V H P L against pointing of Heb. & LXX.
4	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים	οἱ δὲ γίγαυντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις	Gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis	Giauntes forsothe weren vpon the erthe in tho dates,	So the li gĩauntes weren on erthe in tho dates.	Es waren auch zu den zeiten Tyrannen auff Erden.	There were tirantes in the world in thos days	Follows L without any conceivable reason.
18	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים	διαθηκας	foedus	couenaunt	couenaunt	Bund	myne apoyntement	In his first edition T used various rend- erings for בְּרִית
9: 9	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים	διαθηκας	pactum	"	"	Bund	my bond	according to con- text, but the reui- sion of 1554 substi- tutes covenant in all
13	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים	διαθηκας	foederis	"	"	Bund	my testament	cases (following L)
15	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים	διαθηκας	foederis	bonde	"	Bund	my testament	Follows L against LXX V H P
17	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים	διαθηκας	foederis	bonde	"	Bund	my testament	Follows V H P in an impossible render- ing of בְּרִית
12: 2	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים	καὶ ἔση εὐαγγελισμός	erisque benedictus	thou shalt be blis- sid	thou shalt be blis- sid	und solt ein Segen sey	that thou mayst be a blessing	against L's correct reading.
14: 1	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים	ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ βασι- λειᾷ τῇ Ἀμραφελ	factum est autem in illo tempore ut Amraphel	it was don in that tyne, that Am- raphel	it was don in that tyne, that Amrafel	es begab sich zu der Zeit desz Kö- nigs Amraphel	it chaunced within a while that Amra- phel	
15: 2	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים	ὡς δὲ ἀπολυτοῦ καὶ ἀνέκτου· ὁ δὲ υἱὸς Μαμεκ τῆς οἰκογε- νοῦς μου, οὗτος Δαμασκός· Ἐλίζερ	Ego vadum absque heribis, et filius pro- curatoris domus meae, iste Damas- cus Eliezer	I shall go withouten fre children, and the sone of the proctour of myn hous, this Damask of Elyzar, shal be myn eyre.	Y schal go with one fre children, and this Damask, sone of Elieser, the proctour of myn hous, schal be myn eyr.	Ich gehe dahin on kinder   und mein Hausvogt dieser Elieser von Da- masco   hat einen Son.	1 goo childlesse, and the cater of myne house, this Ekeasar of Damasco hath a sone.	All the versions mis- understand בֶּן משק, T follows L instead of V or H P.
6	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים	καὶ ἐλογισθη αὐτῶν ὡς δικαιοσύνη	Et reputatum est illi ad iustitiam	and it was allowid to hym to rygwis- nes.	and it was aretid to hym to rigtful- nesse.	und das rechnt er jm zur gerechtich- keit	and it was counted to hym for right- iuesnes	Does not follow L's correct rendering.
17: 1	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הָאֵלֶּים	ἐπαρσεντο ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ· καὶ γινού- σμεν	ambula coram me, et esto perfectus	goo bifore me, and be thou perfite	go thou bifore me, and be thou perfitt	wandle für mir   und sey fromb,	Walke before me and be uncorrupte	A good independent rendering of הָיוּ

Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
Gen. 18: 10 כֶּתֶה הִיא	κατα τον καταγον του- του εις ορας	temperare isto, vita comite	this tyme, the hif bedere	in this tyme, if V lyue	soichlike	as some as the frute can lyue	All stumble on this obscure phrase. T ventures his own conjecture differ- ent from all others.
22: 14 בְּרֵךְ יְהוָה הַהוּא	εν δε ορα κηρασε ωφθη	In monte Dominus videliat	In the hil the Lord shal se	The Lord schal see in the hil.	Auff dem Berge I da der Herr sihet.	In the mounte will the Lord be scene	T does not follow pointing of בְּרֵךְ as const., but does follow passive pointing of verb against other ver- sions.
23: 2 קִרְיַת אֲרָבֶּה	πολις Αρβας	in civitate Arace	in the citee of Arace	in the citee of Arace	in der Hauptstadt	in a heade cite	Follows L. against others.
15 אֶרֶץ אֲרָבֶּה מִצָּרַיִם שָׂקֶל כֶּסֶף כִּבְרִי הַבֵּינָה מִדֶּהֳרָה	εστρατασσαν δε αρχα- μας του παρθους του πατριος μου, ετα τι αν τη τουτο	Terra, quam postu- las, quadringenti siclis argenti valet; istud est pretium inter me et te, sed quantum est hoc	the erthe that thou askist is worth four hundred sicles of silver, this is the prys betwix me, and thee but what is that?	the land which thou axist is worth four hundred sicles of silver, that is the prys betwix me and thee, but hou mythe is this?	Das Feld ist vier hun- dert Sckel Silbers werth. Was ist das aber zwischen mir und dir.	The lande is worth four hundred sy- cles of sylver: But what is that betwix the and me?	T follows L. in a sub- stantially correct but not literal rendering.
27: 41 יִקְרֶה רַמִּי אֲבֵל אֲבִיר וְהָיְתָה אֶת הַקֶּבֶה אֵלַי;	εκαταστασαν αι ημε- ρας του παρθους του πατριος μου, ετα αποκατεσκευασθη τον αδελφον μου	venit dies luctus patris mei, et oc- cidam Jacobum fratrem meum	the days of weeping of my fader shal come, and I shal sleeve Jacob my brother	the daies of morn- yng of my fadir schulen come, and V shal sleve Jacob, my brother	Es wird die zeit bald kommen I dasz mein Vater leyde tragen musz I Denn ich wil meinen Bruder Jacob erwürgen.	The daies of my fa- thers sorowe are at hade, for I will sleve my brother Jacob	Follows L. against LXX V H P.
40: 3 הָיָה בְּכֵר אֶתָּה בֶּרֶךְ וְהָיְתָה אֶרֶץ הָאֲשֶׁת אֶרֶץ עֲנָת	γεννηθη πρωτοτοκος μου, ος ιαχες μου και αρχη τεκνω- μας ακαλαρος φε- ρασθαι και ακαλαρος αυθαδης.	Ruben primogenitus meus, in fortitudo mea, et principium doloris mei, prior in domo, major in imperio.	Ruben, my first getun, thou my stronglie, and the begynning of my sorwe; first in gifts, and more in commandyng;	Ruben, my first gen drid some, thou art my strongtie and the begynning of my sorowe; thou oughtest to be the former in gifts, the more in lordship;	Ruben, thou art myne eldest some, my mythe and the begynnyng of my strength, chide in renewance and chide in power.	Follows L. in correct rendering of עֲנָת.	In rendering עֲנָת T is independent and wrong.



Heb.	LXX	V	II	P	L	T	REMARKS
Gen. 49: 4	ἐξέθρας ὡς ὕδαρ, μη ἐξέρχῃς ἀφ' ὧν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὴν καρτὰν τοῦ πατρὸς σου τοῦ ἰακώβου τῆς καρτὸς σου ὅτι ἀνέ- βης.	Effusus es sicut aqua, non crescas, quia ascendisti cubile patris tui, et matris habet stratum eius.	thou art held out as water; ne grow thou, for thou hast stieyd up the cowche of thi fader, and thou hast defoulid the bedde of hym.	thou art sched out as water; wexe thou not, for thou stieyd on the bed of thi fader, and defoulidst his bed.	Er fuhr leicht fertig dalin   wie Wasser   du soll nicht der Oberst seyn   Denn du bist auff deines Vatters Læ- ger gestiegen   daselbst hast un rein Bette besudelt mit dem aufsteigen.	As unstable as water wast thou: thou shalt therefore not be the chiefest, for thou wentst vp vpon thy fathers bedd, and than defyled est thou my couche with goynge vpe.	means "bubbling over," "foaming," T's rendering is like L's, a para- phrase, but some what different in effect.
6	ἐς βουλαὺς αὐτῶν μὴ ἔλθῃς, ἢ φονεῖς μου, καὶ ἐκ τῆς καρτὰς ταύτης αὐτῶν μὴ παραστή- σῃς μου, ὅτι ἐν τῇ θύρῃ ἡ αὐτῶν ἀπακρίναν ἀφ' ὧν ποῖς, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐν- θύρῃ αὐτῶν ἐνέ- ποντομαι ταύτης.	In consilium eorum non venias anima mea, et in coetu illorum non sis gloria mea quia in furor suo occi- derunt virum, et in voluntate sua sus- foderunt munus.	In the counsell of hem come not my soule, and in the companye of hem be not my glorie; for in her wrothes thi slewen a man, and in her owne wil thei vndurde uoden the wai;	My soule come not in to the counsell of hem, and my glorie be not in the com- panye of hem; for in her wroth nesse thei killiden a man, and in her wille thei myneden the wai;	Meine Seele komme nicht in jren Rath   und meine Ehre sey nicht in jrer Kirchen   Denn in jren zorn haben sie den Mann er- würgel   und in jren muth willen haben sie den Ochsen vnder bel.	In to their secrettes come not my soule, and vnto their con- gregation be my honour not con- pled: for in their wroth they slewe a man, and in their sellwill they houghed an oxe.	Follows P in render- ing 1's avoid ing 1's awkward "Kirche," T does not use "church."
9	κατασχεύσας Ἀβραάμ, τοῦδε ἐκ βλαστῶν, ὡς μου, ἀνέβη ἀναστῆσαι ἐκ αὐτοῦ θῆς ὡς Λαὸς καὶ ὡς ἀβραάμ, τὸς ὅτι μὴ αὐτῶν.	Catulus leonis Judae: ad praedam, illi mi, ascendisti, re- quiescens ac culu- bedi ut leo, et quasi leona, quis susci- piat eum?	The whelp of lyon Juda, to the prey, some myne, thou stieydst vp; rest yngre thou ley down as a lyon, and as a lionesse who shall receiue hym?	A whelp of lion is Judah; my some thou stieydst to prey; thou restid ist, and hast leyn as a lion, and as a lionesse who shall reise hym?	Juda ist ein junger Löwe   du bist hoch kommen   mein Son   durch grösse Sieg   Du hast nider geliegt   als ein Löwe   und wie ein Löwe   und wie ein Löwin   Wer will sich wider in antlehnen?	Juda is a Lyons whelp. From slepe my some thou art come on hye: he layde him downe and couched himself as a lion, and as a lionesse. Who dare store him vp?	Follows V against 1's impossible render- ing.

Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
לֹא־יִסְדֹּר שָׁבֶט מִיָּהוּדָה מִחֶמֶק מִבֵּין הַגְּבֹלִי עַד כִּרְיֹבָא שִׁילָה וְהוּא רִקְחָא עַמִּים	οὐκ ἐκείψεν ἄρᾳων ἐξ Ἰουδα, καὶ γῆνο- μενος ἐκ τῶν μητρῶν αὐτοῦ, ὥς ἀν ἑλθῇ τὰ ἀποκριμένα αὐ- τοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς προσ- δοκία ἔθῃον.	Non auferetur sceptrum de Iuda, et dux de femore eius, donec veniat qui mittendus est, et ipse erit expectatio gentium.	The septre fro Iuda shal not be takun away, and a duke fro the femle of hym, to the tyme that he come that is to be sent, and he shal be the abydyng of folk of kynde.	The septre shal not be takun away fro Juda, and a duke of his lype, til he come that shal be sent, and he shal be abiding of them men;	Es wirt das Scepter von Juda nicht entwendet werden, noch ein Meister von seinen Füßen, bis das der Herr komme, und derselben werden die Völcker anhangen.	The sceptre shall not departe from Iuda, nor a ruler from betwene his legges, untill Silo come, vnto whome the people shall herken.	L avoids the difficulty by a phrase, as usual. T rejects the impossible attempt of V to derive from שִׁילָה, but not having anything better to offer, he transliterates.
אִסְרָא לִגְבוֹן עֶרְוַה וְלִשְׁרָפָה בֶּן־אֶחָזָר כֶּבֶס בֵּין כֶּבֶשׂ הַכֶּבֶד- נִכְבָּחִים מִיָּהוּדָה:	δεσμυνον πρὸς αἰπυλάου τὸν πάλαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῇ ἑλκί τὸν πάλαν τῆς οἴου αὐτοῦ. πάλαι ἐν οἴκῳ τῆς στολῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν αἰματι σταφύλης τῆς περιβολῆς αὐτοῦ.	Ligans ad vineam pullum suum, et ad vicem, o fili mi, asinum suum, habit in vino stolum suum, et in sanguine uvae pallum suum.	Fayrer ben the cye of hym than wyne, and the teth of hym whitter than mylk.	and he schal tye his colt at the vyner, and his femal asse at the vyne; A! my some, he schal wasche he stole in wyne, and his mentil in the blood of grape;	Er wirt sein Füllen an den Weinstock binden, und seinen Eseln Son an den eullen Rehen, Er wirdt sein Kleid im Wein waschen, und seinen Mantel Wein-erblut.	He shall bynde his fole vnto the vine, and his asses colt vnto the vyne braunche, and shall wash his garment in wyne and his mantell in the blood of grapes.	Follows all the versions in the not unnatural misinterpretation of the adjectives with γὰρ as comparatives.
חֲכֹלֵל עֵינָם מִיָּין לִבָּן- שֵׁנִים מִחֶדֶב:	χαροστοί οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ λευκοὶ οἱ ὀδοῦντες αὐτοῦ ἢ γάλα.	Pulchiores sunt oculi eius vino, et dentes eius lacte candiores.	Zabulon in the brynke of the see shal dwelle, and in the station of shippes, arechynge vnto Sidon.	Zabulon schal dwelle in the brek of the see, and in the stondynge of shippes; and schal stretche til to Sydon.	Seine Augen sind rötlicher denn Wein, und seine Zene weisser denn Milch.	his eyes are roudier than wyne, ad his teth whitter then mylke.	The Revisers have rendered כָּחֹלֵל differently in the two clauses, but T and the earlier versions are right.
זָבֻלֹן לַחֲרֹה הַמִּים יִשְׁכֵּן הַחַיָּא לַחֲרֹה אֶנְחֹת הַרְיָבָת עַל-עֵצֵי:	Ζαβουλὼν παράλιος κατοικήσει, καὶ αὐτὸς παρ' ὅρμον πλοίων, καὶ παρατενεὶ ὡς Σιδῶνος.	Zabulon in litore maris habitabit, et in statione navium pertingens usque ad Sidonem.			Selution wirdt an anfuhrt der Schiffe l und retchen an Sidon.	Zabulon shall dwell in the haufen of the see and in the porte of shippes, & shall reache vnto Sidon.	

Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
Gen. 40. 14 ישכר חמר גם רכץ בין המשפטים:	Ἰσάχαρ τὸ καλὸν ἐπεθύμησεν, ἀναπαύσας τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου τὸν κλίμαρον.	Isachar, asinus fortis accubans inter terrimines,	Isachar, an hee asse strong, liggynge bi twix the termes,	Isachar, a strong liggynge bi twixe termes,	Isachar wirt ein beinern Esel seyn I und sich ligen zwischen die Grenzen.	Isachar is a strong asse, he couched him doune betwene 11 borders,	T notices the dual, ignored by others.
15 ורא מנחה כי טוב ראיה הארץ כי נעמה הנה שכמו לסבל ההר למסע עבד:	καὶ ὶδων τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν αὐτῶν καλὰ, καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπεθύμησεν τὸν ὄμιον αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ παύειν, καὶ ἐγύμνησεν αὐτὸν γυμναγος.	Vidit requiem quod esset bona, et terram quod optima; et suppressit humerum suum ad portandum factus que est tribulatio serviens.	Sawg rest that it was good, and the boord that it was best, and vnderputte his shuldr to here, and he is maad to tribulits seruyng.	Sigg reste, that it was good and seig the lond that it was best, and he vnder sette his schuldr to here, and he was maad seruyng to tribulits.	Und er sahe die ruwe I dasz sie gut ist I und das Landt I dasz es lustig ist I Er hat aber seine schultern genügt zu tragen I und ist ein zanschar Knecht worden.	And sawe that rest was good and the lande that it was pleasant, and bowed his shuldr to beare, and he came a servaunte unto trybute.	Follows V.
16 יו דיין עמר באחה שבתי ישראל:	Διὶ κρίσεως τοῦ λαοῦ, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ μετὰ φύλῃ ἐν Ἰσραὴλ.	Dan iudicabit populum suum sicut et alia tribus in Israel.	Dan shal deme his people, as an other lymage in Ysrael.	Dan shal deme his people, as also an other lymage in Israel.	Dan wird Richter seyn in seinen Volk, I wie ein ander Geschlecht in Israel.	Dan shall iudge his people, as one of the tribes of Israel.	Follows Heb. LXX against V (H P) I.
19 גד בדר יגדרה ההר יגד עקב	Ὁ γὰρ, περιεστράφησεν περὶ παρὸς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δὲ περὶ στροφῆς αὐτῶν κατὰ πλάγας.	Gad, acinctus praefabitur ante eum, et ipse accingetur retrorsum.	Gad gird shal feigt before hym, and he shal be gird bi hynde.	Gad shal be gird, and shal figte before hym, and he shal be gird bi hynde.	Gad gerüst I wirt das Heer führen I und wider herum führen.	Gad, men of warre shal invade him. And he shall turne them to flyght.	Follows Heb. and LXX against V (H P) I
20 מאשר שמנה לחמור ההוא הן מכוני- מלך:	Ἀσερ, πτωρ αὐτῶν ὁ ἄσπρος, καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ φθιγγος ἀπὸ αὐ.	Aser, pinguis panis ejus, et praefabitur delectus regibus.	Aser, the fat breed of hym, and he shall geue delices to kyngs.	Aser his breed shal be plenteuous, and he shal geue delices to kyngs.	Von Aser kompt sein fett Brodt I Und er wirt den Konigen zu getalien thun.	On Aser cometh fatt breid, and he shall geue pleasures for a kyng.	Follows L. in connecting the מן with אפר as it now appears, instead of with the preceding word according to LXX and V.

Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
Gen. 40:22	Υἱὸς ἡξέμας Ἰωσήφ, υἱὸς ἡξέμας μου Ἰσραὴλ· υἱὸς μου Ἰσραὴλ· πρὸς μὲ ἀναστρέψαν.	Filius accrescens Ioseph, filius accrescens et decorus aspectu, filiae discurrebant super murum.	The some accrescinge, Ioseph, the some accrescinge, and seemly in sight; the daughters hider and thider renneden vpon the wal.	Ioseph, a some encreessyng, a some fair in beholding; daughters rumnen aboute on the wal.	Ioseph wirt wachsen   er wirt wachsen   wie an einer quelle   die Tochter treten cynher in Regiment.	That florishyng childe Ioseph, that florishing childe and goodly vn to the eye: the daughters come forth to bere rule.	Follows V (H P) against L. Follows L's wild conjecture.
23	εἰς ὃν διαβουλεύμενοι ἐλάθοντες, καὶ ἐνέχον αὐτὸν κύριοι τοῦ σκευασμῶν.	Sed exasperauerunt eum, et iurgati sunt, inuideruntque illi habentes iacula.	But the egiden hym out, and streuen, and enuyden to hym, haughe darts.	But hise brithren wraththiden hym, and chidden, and thet hadden darts and hadden enuy to hym.	Schutzen erzürnen   und wider in kriegen   und verfolgen	The shoters haue enuyed him and chide with him and hated him.	"Enuyed" from V H; "chide" from P; "hated" is independent and wrong.
24	καὶ συνεστρέβη κρατὺς τὰ τοῦ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐξέλυθη τὰ νεῦρα βραχίονων χειρὸς αὐτῶν διὰ χεῖρα δυνατοῦ λαοῦ· ἐκείθεν δὲ κατισχύσας Ἰσραὴλ παρὰ.	Sedit in forti arcibus eius, et dissoluta sunt vincula brachiorum et manuum illius per manus potentis Iacob; inde pastor egressus est lapis Israel.	Sat in the strong the bowe of hym, and vnbounden ben the bondis of armes, and of the bondis of hym bi the bond of the myghti of Iacob; thens a shepherde gede out, the stoone of Yracl.	His bowe sat in the stronge, and the boondis of his armies, and bondis weren vnbounden bi the bond of the myghti of Iacob; of hym a shepherde gede out, the stoone of Israel.	so bleibt doch sein Bogen fest   und die arm seiner hande starck   durch die hände desz mächtigen in Jacob   ausz ihnen sind kommen Hirten   und steine in Israel.	And yet his bowe boode fast, & his armes and his handes were stronge, by the handes of the myghtye God of Iacob: out of him shall come an herde man a stone in Israel.	Disregards L's loose plurals, but does not correctly translate the construct, as does V.
25	παρὰ θεοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς σου, καὶ ἐβρόθησέν σοι ὁ θεὸς ὁ εὐλογῆσέν σε ἐλογαῖαν ὠμρανὸν ἀνωθεν, καὶ εὐλογαῖαν γῆς ἐλυσσεν πάντα ἐνεκεν εὐλογίας μαστὸν καὶ μάτρας, ὅρρεν:	Deus patris tui erit adiutor tuus, et omnipotens benedict tibi benedictionibus caeli de super, benedictionibus abyssus, benedictis deorsum, benedictionibus uberum et vulvae.	God of thi fader shall be thin helper and the Almighty shall blesse to thee with blessings of heuene fro above, and with blessingis of the see liggynge beneath, and with blessingis of tetis, and of the wombe;	God of thi fader shall be thin helper and the Almighty shall blesse to thee with three with blessingis of heuene fro above, and with blessingis of the see liggynge of the see liggynge of tetis, and of the wombe;	Von deines Vaters Gott ist die geholfen   und von dem Almächtigen bist du geseget   mit Segen oben vom Himmel herab   mit segen von der Tiefe die hunden ligit   mit segen an Brüsten und Leuchten.	The fathers God shall helpe thee, & the almightie shall blesse thee with blessings from heauen above, and with blessinges of the water that lieth vnder, & with blessinges of the brestes & of the wombes.	Omits מָ, which is noticed by LXX and L.



Heb.	LXX	V	II	P	L	T	REMARKS
<p>De. 32: 7</p> <p>זכר ימות יולם בניו שבת דר דר שבת אברך הנני זקניך האמר לך:</p>	<p>μνησθε ἡμέρας αἰώνος, συνετέτη γενεάς ἐκ γενεῶν τοῦ πατρὸς σου, καὶ ἀγαγγείσῃς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους σου, καὶ ἐμύσησιν σοι.</p>	<p>Memento diuini antiquorum, cogita generationes singulas; interroga patrem tuum, et annuntiabit tibi; majores tuos, et dicent tibi:</p>	<p>Haue mynde of olde days, and thenk eche generacioun; aske thi fader, and he shal telle to thee, thi more, and thi shulen seie to thee.</p>	<p>Haue thou minde of olde daies, thenke thou alle generaciouns; axe thi fadir, and he schal telle to thee, axe thi grette men, and thi schulen seie to thee.</p>	<p>Bedenk den vorigen Zeit bisz daher   und betracht was er gethan hat an den alten Vätern   Frage deinen Vater   der wirdt dir   verkündigen   die deine Eltesten   die werden dir   sagen.</p>	<p>Remember the dayes that are past: consyde the yerres from tyme to tyme. Axe thy father and he will shewe the, thyne elders and they wyll tell the.</p>	Independent, nearer literal than L.
<p>8</p> <p>בהחל עניו ביום הפרדו בני אדם הב גבולת עמים למספר בני ישראל:</p>	<p>ὅτε διεμερίσεν ὁ ὕψιστος ἐθνη, ὡς διεσπεύρεν ἐν ὄνομα Ἀδάμ, ἐστῆσαν ἔθνη ἐθνοὶ κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ.</p>	<p>Quando diuidentur Altissimi gentes, quando separabitur filios Adam, constituit terminos populorum iuxta numerum filiorum Israel.</p>	<p>Whanne deuylde the highest folkis of kynde, whanne he seuerde the sones of Adam, he sette the termyns of poplis after the nymbre of the sones of Yrael.</p>	<p>Whanne the highest departyle folkis, whanne he departyle the sones of Adam, he ordeynede the termis of poplis bi the nymbre of the sones of Israel.</p>	<p>Da der Allerhöchste die Völker zertheilt   und zerstreut der Menschen Kinder, Da setzt er die Grenzen der Völker   nach der zahl der Kinder Israel.</p>	<p>When the most highest gaue the nations an inheritance, and diuided the sonnes of Adam he put the borders of the nations, fast by the multitude of the childern of Israel.</p>	Independent and wrong.
<p>10</p> <p>המצאנו בארץ מדבר הבתור כלל השמן הסבבה הבכורה הצורה האשר הענין:</p>	<p>αὐτὰρ ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἐν δὲ περὶ καύματος, ἐν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐξυλάνων αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπαύσαν αὐτὸν, καὶ διεφύλαξεν αὐτὸν ὡς κόρη ἀφθαλμῶν.</p>	<p>Inuenit eum in terra deserta, in loco horrore et vastae solitudinis, circumduxit eum et custodit quasi pupillam oculi sui;</p>	<p>He found hym in a desert boond, in place of arour, and of wast wilderness; he hadde hym aboute, and tughte, and kept as the apple of his eye.</p>	<p>The Lord found hym in a desert lond, in the place of arour, and of wast wilderness; the Lord hadde hym aboute, and taughte hym, and kepte as the apple of his eye.</p>	<p>Er fandt yn in der Wüsten   in der düren Einöde   da es heulet, Er fuhrt yn und gab yn das Gesetz   Er behütet yn wie sein Augapfel.</p>	<p>He founde him in a deserte bonde, in a voyde ground and a rorynge wilderness, he led him aboute and gaue him vnderstandinge, and kepte him as the apple of his eye.</p>	<p>Follows L. Independent, a good rendering.</p>

Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
<p>כְּנֶסֶר יַעֲרִי קֶרֶן עַל-גִּזְלוֹתָי יִרְחֹק יִשְׁכַּח כְּנֶסֶרִי קִוְיָהוּ רִשְׁאוֹתָי עַל-אֲבָרָתִי :</p>	<p>ὡς ἀέρος σκεπάζουσι πτεροῦν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ποσὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐνεπιθήσκει, διεῖς τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ ἐξέτατο αὐ- τοῖς, καὶ ἀνέλαθεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῶν με- ταρσίων αὐτοῦ.</p>	<p>Sicut aquila provo- cans ad volandum pullos suos, et super eos volitans, expandit alas suas, et assumit eum, atque portavit in humeris suis.</p>	<p>As an eagle forth- clepyng his bryddis to fle, and on hem hounyng, he sprade out his weengis, and took to hym, and leere in his shuldres.</p>	<p>As an eagle styrng his bryddis to fle, and fleyng on hem, he spredde forth his wyngis, and took hem, and bar in hise schul- dris.</p>	<p>Wie ein Adler ausführet seine Jungen   und ober jnen schwebet, Er breitet seine Fittich aus   und nam jn   und trug sie auff seinen Flügeln.</p>	<p>As anegle that stereth vpp hyr nest and flotereth ouer hyr younge, he stretched oute his wynges and toke hym vpp and bare hym on his shul- ders.</p>	Independent, literal rendering of Heb.
<p>וְרִכְבֵּה עַל- בְּמִרְתָּ אֶרֶץ וְהָאֵל הַנּוֹבֵת שָׂרִי הַיִּנְקָדָה הִבֵּשׁ מִשְׁכַּע וְשָׂרִי מַחֲלָמֵי עוֹר :</p>	<p>ἀνέβησαν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ἰσχύϊ τῆς γῆς, ἐβόησαν αὐ- τοὺς γενήματα ἀγρῶν, ἐβόησαν μετὰ ἐκ πτέρας, καὶ ἐλάον ἐκ στεφάνος πτέρας.</p>	<p>Constituit eum super excelsam terram, ut comederet fruc- tus agrorum, ut sugeret mel de petra, oleumque de saxo durissimo; et durus.</p>	<p>He sette hym on an hige erthe, that he mygte ete the fruytis of feeldes, that he mygte sowke hony of the stoom, and oyle of the moost hard stone;</p>	<p>The Lord ordeynede hym on an hige lond, that he schulde ete the fruytis of feildis, that he schulde souke hony of a stoom, and oyle of the hardeste roche;</p>	<p>Er liesz in hoch her fahren auff Erden   und nehret jn mit den Früchten desz Feldes. Und liesz jn Honig sougen ausz den Felsen   und Oel ausz den harten Steinen.</p>	<p>He sett him vpp upon an hye londe, and he ate the encrase of the foldes. And he gaue him honye to sucke out of the rocke, and oyle out of the harde stone.</p>	Follows Heb. V in- stead of L.
<p>וְהָאֵל הַמֵּאֵץ בְּקֶרֶן יִחַלֵּב אֶת- עֵינָיו וְיִחַלֵּב כִּרְמֵ- הוֹלֵם בְּנֵי- בְּנֵי הַיִּחְדָּיִם וְהָאֵל הַחֵלֵב כִּכְחוֹת חֵשֶׁה וְהָאֵל הַחֵלֵב הַחֵשֶׁה :</p>	<p>βούργων βοῶν καὶ γάλα προβάτων μετὰ στίκτος νε- φρών ποτόν, καὶ αἶμα σταφύλης ἐπὶ οἶνον,</p>	<p>Butyrum de armento, et lac de ovibus cum adipē agno- rum, et arictum filiorum Basan; et hircos cum medul- la tritici, et san- guinem uvae bib- beret meracissi- mum.</p>	<p>Butre of the droue, and mylk of sheep, with the tallow of loombs and of weethers, of the sones of Basan; and goot of whete, margh of whete, and blood of grapis mygte drynk moost cleer.</p>	<p>Botere of the droue and mylke of sheep, with the fatnesse of lam- bren and of ram- mes, of the sones of Boske Wilder und Basan; and that he schulde ete kydis with the merowe of whete, and schulde drynke the cleerest blood of grape.</p>	<p>Butter von den Kühen   und Milch von Schafen   samt dem fetten von den Lämmern. Und fetzte Wilder und Boske mit fetten Nieren   und Weytzen   und träncket jn mit guetem Trauben- blut.</p>	<p>With butter of the kyne and mylke of the shepe, with fat of the lambes ad fatt rammes and he gootes with fatt kydneyes and with whete. And of the blonde of grapes thou dronkest wyne.</p>	Follows L. in omi- ting כִּי-יִחַלֵּב.

HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
Di. 32:15	καὶ ἐφαγεν ἰακώβ καὶ ἐνεπλάσθη, καὶ ἀπελάττει οὐγα- πηκεος, ἐλπίσθη, ἐπαχύνθη, ἐπλάτυ- θη· καὶ ἐκατέλυ- σεν τὸν θῆον τὸν ποιγάρτα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπέστη, ἀπὸ θεοῦ σωτήρος αὐ- τοῦ.	Incrassatus est ille- tus, et evaldtravit, incrassatus, im- pin- guatus, dilatatus, dereliquit Deum factorem suum, et recessit a Deo sa- lutari suo.	Ful fat maad is the loured, and agen wynsed; fullulid, ful gresid, out- largid; he haft God his maker, and geed alaik fro God, his gyuer of health.	The loured pople was maad fat, and kikide agen; maad fat without forth, maad fat with ynne, and alargid; he forsook God his makere, and ge- awei fro God his helthe.	Da er aber fett und satt ward   ward er Geyl. Er ist fett und dick und stark worden. Und hat den Gott fahren lassen   der in Ge- macht hat.   Er hat den Felsz seines Heyls ge- ringe geacht.	And Israel waxed fatt and kyked. Thou wast fatt, thicke and smothie, And he let God goo that made him and despyed the rocke that saued him.	שרון instead of any the alternatives of LXX V L.
17	ἐθυσαν δαυμονίους καὶ οὐ θεῶν, θεοῖς οἷς οὐκ ᾔδεισαν· καὶ οὐκ ᾔδεισαν καὶ οὐκ ᾔδεισαν καὶ οὐκ ᾔδεισαν αὐτοῦ.	Immolaverunt dae- moniis, et non Deo, his, quos ignora- bant; novi recemes- que venerunt, quos non coluerunt patres eorum.	Thei offriden to deuels, and not to God, to goddis whiche thei knewen not, newe goddis, and freisch camen, whiche the which heryeden not the faders of hem.	Thei offriden to fec- dis, and not to God, to goddis whiche thei knewen not, newe goddis, and freisch camen, whiche the fadris of hem wor- schipten not.	Sie haben den Feld- teuffeln geopffert   und nicht Jrem Gott   den Göt- tern die sie nicht kenneten   Den newen goddes that came newly vpp whiche thei faders feared not. nicht gekchret ha- ben.	They offered vnto felddeuels and not to God, and to goddess which they knewe not and to newe goddes that came newly vpp whiche thei fathers feared not.	Adopts L's word.
24	καὶ ἐφαγεν, ἀνὰ βρωσας ὁρώσας, καὶ ὄνισθοντος ἀνα- τος ὀδόντας θηρίων ἀποστρέλω εἰς αὐ- τοῖς, μετὰ θυγοῦ συροῦντος ἐπὶ γῆν.	Consumuntur fame, et devorabunt eos aves morsu amaris- simo; dentes besti- arum immittunt in eos, cum furore trahentium super terram atque ser- pentium.	Thei shulen be was- tid with hungir, and briddis shulen deuour hem in biting moost bitter; teeth of bistis   shal sende in hem, with woodnes of hem drawinge on erthe, and crip- inge.	Thei shulen be waastid with hun- gur, and briddis shulen deuoure hem with bitterise biting; Y schal sende in to hem the teeth of bectis, with the wood- nesse of wormes drawinge on erthe and of serpentis.	Für Hunger sollen sie verschlunget   und verzehret werden vom Fieber und jhem Tod. Ich wil der Thier Zehne unter sie schicken   und Schlangengift.	Burnt with hungre ad consumed with beet and with bit- ter pestilence.   will also sende the teeth of beastes vpp pon them and poy- son serpentes	Independent and wrong. Follows L in omit- ting עפר but turns "Schlangen- gift" around.



De. 32:25	Heb.	LXX	V	II	P	L	T	REMARKS
	מחץ השכל חרב ומחוררים אימה גס-בחרור גס-בחרוב ינק פס-איש :יבה:	ἐξέθεν ἀρεσκίαν αὐ- τοῖς μαχαίρα, καὶ ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων φό- βος· ἡ ταραχή αὐτῶν παράβη, θλάσις αὐ- τῶν καθαρὰ ἡτώρας προσβύθου.	Fortis vastabit eos gladius et intus pavor juvenem simul ac virginem, lactentem cum homine senē.	With out forth shal waust hem swerth, and with yn forth dred; the gong to gidre and may- den, the sowkyng with the old man.	Sword with outforth and dredde with- ynne schal wauste hem; a gong man and a virgin to gidre, a sowkyng child with an elde man.	Auswendig wirt sie das Schwert be- rauben l und inn- wendig das schrecken l heyde jünglinge und Jungkfrauen die Säuglinge mit dem grawen Mann.	Without forth, the swerde shal robbe the off there children: and wythin in the chamber, feare: both younge men and younge wemen and the suckelynges with the mē of gray herdes.	Independent, literal, and vivid.
26	אמרתי אפאיהם אשכיהם מאנוש זכרם:	εἶπα Διασπέρω αὐ- τοῖς, παύσω δὲ ἐξ- αίρεσάντων τὸ μη- μύσιν αὐτῶν.	Dixi: Ulinam sumi? cessare faciam ex hominibus memo- riam eorum.	And I seide, Where forsathe ben thei? to cesse Y shal maak fro men the mynde of hem.	And Y seide, where ben thei? Y shal make the mynde of hem to cesse of men.	Ich wil sagen: Wo sind sie? Ich werde jr geläch- niz aetheben unter dē Mensch- en.	I have determened to scatter the therowout the worlde, ad to make awaye the reme- brance of them from amonge men.	Follows LXX, para- phrasing slightly; rejects the erro- neous rendering of V (II P) L.
27	לולי כעס אויב אחר פרעכער צרמר פרעכער רדער רמה וללא דחיה פעל כדחצי:	εἰ μὴ δὲ ὁργήν ἐχθρῶν, ἢ αὐτῶν μα- κροχρησίων, ἢ αὐ- τῶν συνεισθησάντων ὁσίων· μὴ εἰ- παυσεν ἡ χυρὴν αὐ- τῶν ἢ ὁργήν καὶ οὐκ κύριος ἐπαύει ταῦτα πάντα.	Sed propter iram ini- micorum distuli, ne forte superhar- ent hostes eorum, et dicerent: Manus nostra ex- celsa, et non Domi- nus, fecit haec omnia.	But for the wrath of enemies I hatte for a while, lest per- aventure wolden were provide the enemies of hem, and seye, Oure highe boond, and not the Lord, hath doon alle thes things.	But Y delayed for the yre of enemies, lest peraventure the enemies of hem shulden be proude, and seie, Oure hig bond, and not the Lord, dide alle these thingis.	Wenn ich mit den zorn der Feinde schewete l dasz nicht jre Feinde stolz würden l un- möchten sagen: Unser Macht ist hoch l und der Herr hat nicht solches alles gethan.	Were it not that I feared the rayl- ynge off theyr enemeyes, lest there adversaries wolde be proude and saye: our hie hande hath done all these workes at these Lorde and not the Lorde.	Rejects L's loose paraphrase
28	כדחצי אבר עצמות המות ואין בהם הבניה:	ἐθλος ἀπολαλεῶδες βουλήν ἑαυτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἰσότης.	Gens absque consilio est, et sine pruden- tia.	Folk with out coun- sel it is, and with out wisdom;	It is a folk without counsel and with- out prudence;	Denn es ist ein Volk l da kein Rath inn l und ist kein Verstand in juen.	For it is a nation that hath an vn- happy forecast, and hath no vn- derstouge in them.	Independent and wrong



Heb.	LXX	V	II	P	L	T	REMARKS
<p>דל. 32: 43</p> <p>הרביני גרים עמו כי דם- עבדיו יקום לצורו רשע אדמרו כפר; אדמרו עמו;</p>	<p>εὐφρανθήσιν, οὐρανὸν ἄμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ προ- συνηγάσονται αὐ- τῷ νοῖο θεοῦ· ἐν- φρανθήσιν, εὐφημέ- τα τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εὐσυνήσονται αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγε- λοι θεοῦ· ὅτι τὸ αἷμα τῶν υἱῶν αὐ- τοῦ ἐδικάσθη, καὶ ἐδικάσθη, καὶ ἀντα- ποδώσεται δικὰν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς· καὶ τοῖς μισοῦσιν αὐτὰπο- δώσει, καὶ ἐκαθά- ραις Κύριος τὴν γῆν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ.</p>	<p>Laudate gentes popu- lum ejus, quia san- guinem servorum suorum ulciscetur, et vindictam re- tribuet in hostes eorum, et propitius erit Terrae populi sui.</p>	<p>Preyse ge gentils, the puple of hym, for the blood of his ser- vants; he shall wreck, and veni- once he shall quyte into the enemies of hem, and he shall be merciful to the erthe of his puple.</p>	<p>Folkis, praise ge the pupils of hym, for he schal venie the blood of his ser- vants, and he schal golde veni- aunce in to the enemies of hem; and he schal be merciful to the lond of his puple.</p>	<p>Jauchzet alle   die ir sein Volk sey     Denn er wil das   Blut seine Knechte   rechen. Und wilt   sich an seinen Feinden rechen     ein gnädig seyn   dem Lande seines Volcks.</p>	<p>Reioyse hethen wyth hys people, for he will avenge the bloude off his ser- vantes, and wyl avenge hym off hys aduersaries, and wyl be mercyfull vnto the lond off hys people.</p>	<p>Independent and wrong (though this reading is adopted by the Revisers)</p>
<p>אם חבב קדשיו בידך הם חכר לרגלך רשע מדברחדיך;</p>	<p>οἱ ἡγιασμένοι ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας σου· καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ σε εἰσιν, καὶ δόξα σοι ἀπὸ τῶν λογίων αὐτοῦ,</p>	<p>Dilexit populos, om- nes sancti in manu illis sunt, et qui appropinquant pe- dibus ejus, accipi- ent de doctrina illis.</p>	<p>He louede puples; alle seyntis in the hond of hym ben, and that neigen to the feet of hym, shulen tounk of the loue of hym.</p>	<p>He louede puplis; in his hond, and thci that neigen to his feet shulen take of his doc- tryn.</p>	<p>Wie hat er die Leute so lieb? Alle seine Heyligen sind in deiner Hand   Sie werden sich setzen zu deinen Füssen   un wer- den lehren von deinen worten.</p>	<p>How loued he the people? All his sayntes are in his honde. They toynd themselves vnto thy fote and receaued thi wordes.</p>	<p>Follows L in making XX interrogative, Follows V (II P) against Heb. LXX L.</p>
<p>והי ברשרון מלך בהחצות האשר עם יהוה שבתי ישראל;</p>	<p>καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ ἡγα- γημένῳ στρατῷ, συ- ναχθέντων ἀρχι- των λαοῦ ἄμα φι- λαῖς Ἰσραὴλ.</p>	<p>Erūt apud rectissi- mum rex, congre- gatis principibus populi cum tribu- bus Israel.</p>	<p>And there shal be anentis the moost right kyng, the pryncis of the puple gedrid with the lynagis of Ysrahel.</p>	<p>And the king schal be at the moost rigt fulwhanne prynces of the puple shulen be gaderid togidre with the lynagis of Israel.</p>	<p>Und er verwaldet das Armē eines Kin- iges   und hielt zu sammen die Hāup- ter desz Volcks   samt den Stām- men Israel.</p>	<p>And he was in Israel kinge when he gathered the heedes of the people and the tribes of Israel to geder.</p>	<p>Renders ישרן as before.</p>

Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
דל. 33: 6 חרי ראובן אל-ימית יהיה מתיו מספר :	Ζήτω Ρουβὴν καὶ μὴ ἀποθάνειτω, καὶ ἔστω πολὺς ἐν ἀριθμῷ.	Vivat Ruben, et non moriatur, et sit parvus in numero.	Lyte Ruben, and dye he not, and be he litil in nombre.	Ruben lyue, and die not, and be he litel in nombre.	Ruben lebe und sterbe nicht   und sein Pöbel sey gering.	Ruben shall lyue and shall not dye: but his people shalbe few in nombre.	Future for imperative; independent, wrong.
8 הללויו אמר למחר האריך לאמר הסדר אשר נסתר במסה חריבה על-מי מריבה :	Καὶ τῷ Λευὶ εἶπεν Δότε Λευὶ ὄψων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀλάφειαν αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀδελφῇ τῷ ὀπίῳ, ὃν ἐτίμασαν αὐτὸν ἐν Πιλάῳ, ἐκδοῦνσαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἰδωτος Ἀντιλουργίας.	Levi quoque ait: Perfectio tua, et doctrina tua viro sancto tuo, quem prodesti in tentatione, et iudicasti ad aquas Contradictionis.	Forsothe to Leuy he seith, Thi perfectioun and thi loor for thin hooli man, whom thou hast preued in temptacioun, and hast demed at the Warris of Agensei-ynge;	Also he seide to Leuy, Thi perfectioun and thi techyng is of an hooly man, whom thou preuedist in temptacioun and demedist at the Warris of Agensei-ynge;	Und zu Leui sprach er. Dein Ruch und dein Liecht bleibe bey deinem heyligen Mann   den du versucht hast zu Massa   da jr haderet an Haderwasser.	And vnto Leui he sayed: thy perfectnesse ad thi light be after thy mercifull ma whom thou temptest at Massa ad with whom thou striddest at the waters of strife.	Independent, wrong.
13 הללויו אמר מברכת יהוה ארחו ממנו שמים מכל המרחים הבצת חתם :	Καὶ τῷ Ἰωσήφ εἶπεν Ἐπὶ εὐλογίας Κυρίου ἡ γῆ αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ ὧσαν οὐρανῶν καὶ δροσῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ ἀβυσσῶσαν πηγῶν κατὰσθεν, καὶ καθ' ὧσαν γενήματα γῆσου τροφῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ συνόδων μετῶν,	Joseph quoque ait: De benedictione Domini terra ejus, de pomis caeli, et rore, atque abyssos subiacentie: de pomis fructuum solis ac lunae;	Forsothe to Joseph he seith, Of the blessinge of the Lord the loond of hym; of the applis of heuene, and of the dewe, and of the see underlyng; of applis of the fruyt of sunne, and of moone;	Also he seide to Joseph, His loond is of the Lordis blessing; of the applis of heuene, and of the dewe, and of waier liggynge bynthe. of the applis of fruytes of the sunne and moone;	Und zu Joseph sprach er: Seim Land ligt im Segen dess Herrn	And vnto Joseph he sayed: blessed of the Lorde is his londe with the goodly frutes off heauen, with dewe and with springes that lye benneth: And with frutes of the encrease of the some and wyth rype frute off the monethes and with the toppes of mountaynes that were from the begynnyng and with the dayntes of hilles that last euer and	f. omits these clauses but T renders them complete.
14 הממנו הבטח שמש הממנו נרש נרחם :	καὶ καθ' ὧσαν γενήματα γῆσου τροφῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ συνόδων μετῶν,	De vertice antiquorum montium, de pomis collium aeternorum,	And of the cop of the old mounteyns, and of applis of euerlastyng hilles;	of the coupe of elde mounteyns, and of the applis of euerlastyng hilles;	Da sind edle Früchte von den Sonnen   und edle reiffe Früchte der Mounten.	And with frutes of the increase of the some and wyth rype frute off the monethes and with the toppes of mountaynes that were from the begynnyng and with the dayntes of hilles that last euer and	An improbable conjecture. Does not follow L's conjecture.
15 המראש ההרריקון הממנו גבעות נורם :	ἀπὸ κορυφῶν ὕψους ὄρεων, καὶ ἀπὸ κορυφῶν βουνῶν αἰωνίων,						

Heb.	LXX	V	II	P	L	T	REMARKS
<p>וּמִבְּרֵאשִׁית אֶרֶץ וּמִבְּרֵאשִׁית אֶרֶץ שְׂכֵנֵי סָבִי חֲבֹאֲתָהּ כִּרְאֵשׁ יוֹסֵף וּלְקִדְקֵד חֲזֵר אֲחֵרִי:</p>	<p>καὶ καθ' ὅσον γῆς πληρώσας· καὶ τὰ δικτά τῶ ὁδοῦ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἐλθού- σαν ἐπὶ κεφαλῇ Ἰωσήφ, καὶ ἐπὶ κο- ρυφῇ· ἀξισθῆναι ἐν ἀδελφούς.</p>	<p>et de fragibus terrae, et de plenitudine ejus; benedictio illius, qui apparuit in rubo, venit super caput Jo- seph, et super ver- ticem nazareni inter fratres suos.</p>	<p>And of fruits of the erthe, and plentie of it, Bless- ynge of hym that aperyde in the bushse come vpon the heed of Jo- seph, and vpon the fortop of Nazarey among his breth- eren.</p>	<p>and of the fruytis of the land, and of the fulnesse thereof. The blessynge of hym that aperyde in the bushse come on the heed of Joseph, and on the cop of Nazarey among his breth- eren.</p>	<p>Fruchten von der Erden und was drinnen ist. Die Grade desz der in dem Busch wohnete   komme auff das Haupt Jo- seph   und auff den Scheitel desz Nasir unter seinen Brüdern.</p>	<p>With goodly frute of the erth and off the fulnesse there of. And the good will of him that dwelth in the bush shall come vpon the heed of Joseph and vpon the toppie of the heed of him that was separated from amonge his breth- eren</p>	<p>Translates נזיר again.</p>
<p>כָּבֹד שׁוֹר הָיָה לוֹ רָקִי רָעָם קָרְנֵי בָּהֶם עֲמִיד נִגְתָּה יַחֲדָיו אֶפְסֵי-אֶרֶץ רָחֵם רַבָּתָהּ אֶפְרַיִם רָחֵם אֶפְרַיִם מִנְשֶׁה:</p>	<p>καλῶς αὐτοῦ, κε- ρατὰ μανασσεως τὰ κερατὰ αὐτοῦ; ἐν αὐτοῖς ὄντι κε- ρατὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν ἀσμοῦ γῆς, ἀπὸ μανασῆ· Ἐφραΐμ, καὶ αὐτὰ χιλαδῆς Μανασσῆ.</p>	<p>Quasi primogeniti tauri pulchritudo ejus, cornua rhi- nocerotis cornua illius, in ipsis ven- tilabitur genies usque ad terminos Ter- rae; haec sunt mul- titudines Ephraim, et haec millia Manasse.</p>	<p>As of the first good hood the fernes of hym; hornes of an vnicorn the hornes of him, in hem he shal wyndowe gen- tilys, vnto the ter- mines of the erthe Thes ben the mul- titudys of Ephraym, and thes thou- sandis of manasse.</p>	<p>As the first goodhul of a hote is the fairnesse of hym; the hornes of an vnicorn ben the hornes of hym; in tho he schal wyndowe folkis, vnto the termes of erthe. These ben the multitudis of Ephraym, and thes ben the thou- syndis of Man- asses.</p>	<p>Seine Herrlichkeit ist wie ein Esge- horner Ochse   und seine Hörner sind wie Einhör- ners Hörner. Mit denselbigen wir er die Völker stossen zuhauff   lasz an des Landes ende   Das sind die tau- send Ephraim   und die tausend Manasse.</p>	<p>His bewtye is as a firstborne oxe and his hornes as the hornes of an vni- corn. And with them he shall push the nations to- gether, euen vnto the endes of the worlde. These are the many thousandes of Eph- raim and the thou- sandis off Man- asse.</p>	<p>Follows V L, which do not strictly ren- der the Heb.</p>

Heb.	LXX	V	II	P	L	T	REMARKS
<p>לכנר אמר ברוך מרחיב גד כלבניא שכנ הרם זרע אפי קדקד:</p>	<p>Καὶ τὸ ἦδ' εἶπεν Ἐὐ- λογημένος ἑμπαλα- τίμων ἦδ' ὡς λέων ἀνεπαύσατο, συν- τρίψας βραχίονα καὶ ἀρχοντα.</p>	<p>Et Gad ait: Bene- dictus in latitudine Gad; quasi leo requievit, cepitque brachium et verti- cem.</p>	<p>And to Gad he saith, Blessed in breede Gad, as a lion he reside, and he took arme and forthep.</p>	<p>And he seide to Gad, Gad is ble- sided in broodnesse; he reside as a lion, and he took the arme and the mol.</p>	<p>Und zu Gad sprach er: Gad sey geseg- net der Raum macher. Er ligt wie ein Löw   und raubet den Arm und die Scheytel.</p>	<p>And unto Gad he sayed: blessed is the rowmaker Gad. He dwell- eth as a lion and caught the arme ad also the toppe of the heed.</p>	Adopts L's word.
<p>ויהא ראשית לן כרשם חלקת מחקק ספן ויהא ראשי עם צדקת יהוה עשוה ומשפטיהו עם-ישראל:</p>	<p>καὶ ἰδὲν ἀπαρχὴν αὐ- τοῦ, ὅτι ἰκαὶ ἐπε- ρίσθη γὰρ ἀρχόντων, συναρχόντων ἀμα ἀρχηγῶς λαῶν δι καὶ σφύρατον Κύριος ἐποίησεν καὶ κρι- σιν αὐτοῦ μετὰ Ἰσραὴλ.</p>	<p>Et vidit principatum suum, quod in parte sua doctor esset repositus, qui fuit cum principi- bus populi, et fecit iustitias Domini, et iudicium suum cum Israel.</p>	<p>And he saug his prynschod, that in his part a doc- tour he was seid up; the which was with princis of puple, and dide rightwisnes of the Lord, and bys doom with Yrael.</p>	<p>And he sig his prin- hed, that the techeere was kept in his part; which Gad was with the princes of the puple, and dide the rightfulnesses of the Lord, and his doom with Israel.</p>	<p>Und er sahe daz im ein Haupt gegeben war   ein Lehrer der ver- lorenen ist   wel- cher kam mit dem Obersten des Volcks   und ver- schafft die Gerech- tigkeit des Herrn   und seine Rechte an Israel.</p>	<p>He sawe his begyn- nyng, that a partie of the teach- ers were hyd there ad come with the herdes of the peo- ple, and executed the rightcones of the Lorde and his iudgements with Israel.</p>	In this corrupt pas- sage we can only say that 'T' had his own guess, which is no better and no worse than the rest.
<p>ברוך ונתת מנעלן וכיבוד הבאד:</p>	<p>στόργος καὶ χαλκός τὸ πινόμενον αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, ὡς αἱ ἡμέραι σου ἢ ἰσχύς σου,</p>	<p>Perrum et aces cal- ceamentum ejus: Sicut dies juvenu- tis tuae, ita ei senectus tua</p>	<p>Yrun and bras the shoyage of him; as days of thi gouth so and thin celde.</p>	<p>Yrun and bras the scho of hym; as the dai of thi gouth so and thin celde.</p>	<p>Yern and brasce shall hange on thi shoues and thine age shalbe as thi youth.</p>	<p>Yern and brasce shall hange on thi shoues and thine age shalbe as thi youth.</p>	Follows V H P L against Heb. LXX.

HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
<p>אין כאן ישראל שמים בעור ובנאותו שחקים: מכתה אלה קדם ומחוח זרעת עולם הנהש מפני אורב ויאמר השמו:</p>	<p>οὐκ ἔστιν ἡσπέρ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ ἡγαπημέ- νου· ὁ ἐπιβαίνων ἐπὶ τὴν οὐρανὸν βοηθὸς σου, καὶ ὁ μεγαλοπρεπὴς τοῦ στερέωματος· καὶ σκεπάζει σε θεὸς ἀρχὴ, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰσχυρὸς βοηθού σου ἀνέστη· ἐβλάσει ἀπὸ προσώπου σου ἐχθροὺς, λέγων· Ἀπό- λαο.</p>	<p>Non est Deus alius, ut Deus rectissimus; ascensor cæli auxi- liator tuus. Mag- nificencia ejus dis- currunt nubes, habitaaculum ejus sursum, et sulter brachia sempi- terna; efficit a- facie tua inimicum, dicteque: Con- terere.</p>	<p>There is noon other god as the moost right God; the sier of heuen thin helper, thurg the hidows doyng of hym to and fro: en- nen the clowdes. The dwellyng place of hym aboue, and vnder ne the euerlastyng armys; he shall cast out fro thi face the enemy, and he shall seye Be thou to trode. Yrael shal dwelle trustilych, and aboue; the eye of Jacob in the lond of whete, and of wyn, and heuens schulen wexe derk thurg dewe.</p>	<p>Noon other god is as the God of the moost rightful; the siere of heuene, thin helpe,er, cloudis rennen about bi the glorie of hym. His dwellyng place is aboue, and armys euerlast- yng ben byneth; he schal caste out fro thi face the enemy, and he schal seie, Be thou al to brokun.</p>	<p>Es ist kein Gott als der Gott desz Himmel sitz   der sey deine Hülff   und desz Herr- ligkeit in Wolken ist   Das ist die Wohnung Gottes von anfang   und unter den Armen ewiglich. Und er wirt für dir her deinen Feindt auszreiben   und sagen   : Sey vertilget.</p>	<p>There is none like vnto the God of the off Israel: he that sitteth vpon heauen shal be thine helpe, whose glorie is in the clowdes, that is the dwelling place of God from the be- gynnyng and from vnder the armes of the worlde; he hath cast out thine enemies before the and sayed: de- stroye.</p>	<p>Translates ישראל The passage puzzles all the translators. T follows L in the first clause, ventures into the realm of independ- ent conjecture in the second, with- out conveying any intelligible mean- ing. Follows V against L.</p>
<p>ישראל בבית בדר פניו יקב אל-אדך הן התרוש אש-שמי הפרסל:</p>	<p>καὶ κατασκηνοῦσιν Ἰσραὴλ περὶ οὐ- ραῖος ἐπὶ γῆς Ἰα- κώβ· ἐπὶ αἰῶνα καὶ οἰνοῦ, καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς σοὶ συνουφής ἐσθ- σι.</p>	<p>Ita habitabit Israel con- fidenter, et solus, Oculus Jacob in terra frumenti et vini, cælique cali- gabunt rore.</p>	<p>Yrael shal dwelle trustilych, and aboue; the eye of Jacob in the lond of whete, and of wyn, and heuens schulen wexe derk thurg dewe.</p>	<p>Israel schal dwelle trustele and aboue; the eye of Jacob in the lond of whete, and of wyn, and heuens schulen be derk with deu.</p>	<p>Israel wirt sicher allein wohnen   Der brunn Jacob wirt seyn auff dem Lande da Korn und Most ist   dazu sein Himmel wirt mit Thaw triefen.</p>	<p>And Israel shall dwell in safetie alone, And the eyes of Jacob shall loke appon a londe of corne and wync, morcouer his heauen shall droppe with dewe.</p>	

From such comparisons, carried through the Pentateuch, we discover: (1) that Tyndale did not make a literal, unaided version from the Hebrew, as if no other translation existed; (2) that he did not modernize and revise the work of Nicholas de Hereford and John Purvey; (3) that he did not make a translation from the Vulgate and then revise it by comparison with the Hebrew and Luther's version.

1. If Tyndale had confined himself to the Hebrew, referring only occasionally to the Vulgate or Luther for help on obscure passages, we should expect only occasional coincidences of phraseology and interpretation with those versions, and these in places where some special reason for difficulty existed. But this is not the condition shown by the parallel versions. In simple narrative prose there is little room for alternative renderings, hence examples taken from such material yield negative results: if Tyndale in such chapters follows V and L closely, it is simply because they in turn follow the Hebrew closely, and no one can say in any given verse which text lay before Tyndale's eyes when he wrote his translation of it. But coincidences in such passages as the three poetic chapters quoted afford positive evidence of borrowing, not only in the difficult, but in the easy verses. A Hebrew sentence in the poetic style, even though not obscure, may be translated with many more chances of variety than a prose sentence; and a large proportion of agreements with Luther here cannot be accidental.

But the comparison of the versions, even in the few passages presented in the preceding pages, establishes beyond any question what has sometimes been seriously denied—that Tyndale did use the Hebrew in his Pentateuch. The cases where he, against all the versions, renders the Hebrew literally are not numerous, but they are incontrovertible. Evidence of Tyndale's acquaintance with Hebrew, drawn from his own autobiographical references in his writings, and in the glossaries of proper names attached to the books of the Pentateuch, may be held by some judges not conclusive as to anything more than a smattering of the language. But these cases of independent correct rendering from the Hebrew imply thorough study.

It is to be noted that Tyndale learned, either from Luther's version or from his own study, much of the correct syntax of dependent clauses introduced by *Waw*. He translates many of these more in accordance with the correct principles of rendering Semitic idiom into English than our English translators of later times have shown. He is generally right in his treatment of the Hebrew tenses, abandoning the slavish literalness



of the Septuagint and Vulgate;<sup>1</sup> though here again one must often admit his indebtedness to Luther. In common with the ancient versions and with Luther, he sometimes ignores the construct as shown by the pointing and the absence of the article, which seems a rather serious fault in a translator. One characteristic difference from Luther is that he retains certain Hebrew idioms which lend themselves well to rhythms of English style; for example, where the Hebrew would say "sacrifices of righteousness," Luther would make it perhaps "righteous sacrifices," but Tyndale would keep the construct with the abstract noun. One might trace this idiom from Tyndale's Pentateuch down through the later translators of the Old Testament into its many ramifications in English prose style.

Tyndale is too honest to slip out of a difficulty by a vague paraphrase, as Luther did. Examples of this are found in the chapters quoted. In few cases did Tyndale possess the scholarship to hit on the correct clue to a puzzle due to corrupt text or a *hapax legomenon*; but he at least has the courage to abandon Luther when the German translator merely blinked the difficulty. Sometimes he prefers in such cases to cling to the time-honored rendering of Jerome; sometimes he offers his own conjecture, which is often wrong. There is at least a measure of independence in this attitude.

Tyndale was a much better scholar in Greek than in Hebrew, and we should therefore expect extensive use of the Septuagint. There are sufficient data to prove that he consulted it constantly; but, after all, it afforded him comparatively little assistance, because the chief value of this version—as a guide in textual emendation—was unknown in Tyndale's day. There is no evidence in Tyndale's Pentateuch, so far as the present writer has discovered, that he ventured a single emendation of the Masoretic text on textual grounds.<sup>2</sup>

2. As to the use made of the Wiclifite versions, Tyndale's own declaration that he derived no aid from them is on the whole supported by the comparison. Both Hereford's and Purvey's versions are not only Middle English, thoroughly obsolete in 1529, but they are very crabbed and unidio-

<sup>1</sup> This knowledge he used in his translation of the New Testament Greek. "If ought seme chaunged, or not alto gether agreyng with the Greke, let the finder of the faute cōsider the Hebrue phrase, or maner of speache left in the Greke wordes. Whose preterperfectence and presentence is of both one, and the futurtence is the optative mode also, and the futurtence is of the imperative mode in the active voyce and in the passive ever. Like wise person for person, nombre for nōbre, and interrogative for a condicionall and suche lyke is with the Hebrues a comon usage." ("Preface to N. T., William Tindale unto the Christian Reader.")

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Gen. 49:19.

matic Middle English, because copied bodily, and often unintelligently, from the Vulgate. The case is far different from that of Wiclif's own version of the New Testament, connection between which and Tyndale's New Testament is much closer, as has been shown by writers on that subject. Where we find coincidences of phrase between Tyndale's Pentateuch and the two fourteenth-century versions, we can usually trace them to the common Latin source. Occasionally a combination of words occurs which cannot be referred to such a source, and we are led to surmise that Tyndale's recollection of versions doubtless familiar to him in early life influenced him in the choice of a phrase; but these instances are not sufficiently numerous to establish any presumption that he had a manuscript of either version before him in Germany.

3. Nothing is made clearer by the comparison than that the Vulgate was not Tyndale's basis in his work. He was fond of saying that Hebrew was much more like English than it was like Latin; and, indeed, he showed in many little ways that he had no love for the official ecclesiastical version. If he had worked directly and primarily from it, he could not have avoided many Latin idioms, especially in the syntax, which are absent from his translation. While no doubt influenced by the Vulgate in the choice of words, such as "create," "firmament," and many more, it is most certainly not the text from which he directly translated.

The conclusion at which we arrive, therefore, by the process of exclusion, is that Tyndale in translating his Pentateuch kept constantly before him the Hebrew text and Luther's version, with the Septuagint and Vulgate within easy reach, and fragments of the Middle English archaisms running through his mind as he worked; that he probably made his first draft from the German, checking it constantly by the Hebrew, and departing from it in nearly every case where he detected Luther in an evasion; that he carried into this work the same principle already established in his New Testament, of making an idiomatic English work in the language of the common people rather than of the learned; transferring such Semitic idioms as approved themselves to him as easily understood and more vigorous than paraphrase.

It has been pointed out, in the earlier part of this paper, that the unhappy fate by which Tyndale's Old Testament was cut off so near the beginning should not detract from the honor due to him as the father of Hebrew scholarship among Englishmen, and the author of the first version in English made from the Hebrew. To attempt to estimate his influence on the style of the men who completed the Old Testament after his death would lead us too far into the realm of conjecture. It will suffice to insist

that in the year 1529 there were many different ways of translating the five books of Moses, any one of which might have been adopted by an Englishman with Tyndale's equipment; many styles, most of which would have been Latinized, cumbrous, and periphrastic; and that of all these the one which we find in our Bible today is the style of Tyndale, which no Englishman had used before him. Whether one should call this a case of direct literary lineage, or should rather refer it to widely diffused linguistic influences which brought about a great change between the beginning and the middle of the sixteenth century, is a matter of opinion. If we bring into our field of view at this point Tyndale's New Testament, the popularity and influence of which were so much greater, there can remain no doubt that the martyr of Vilvorde deserves the pre-eminent rank so often accorded to Coverdale and the bishops who entered into the reward of his heroic labors.

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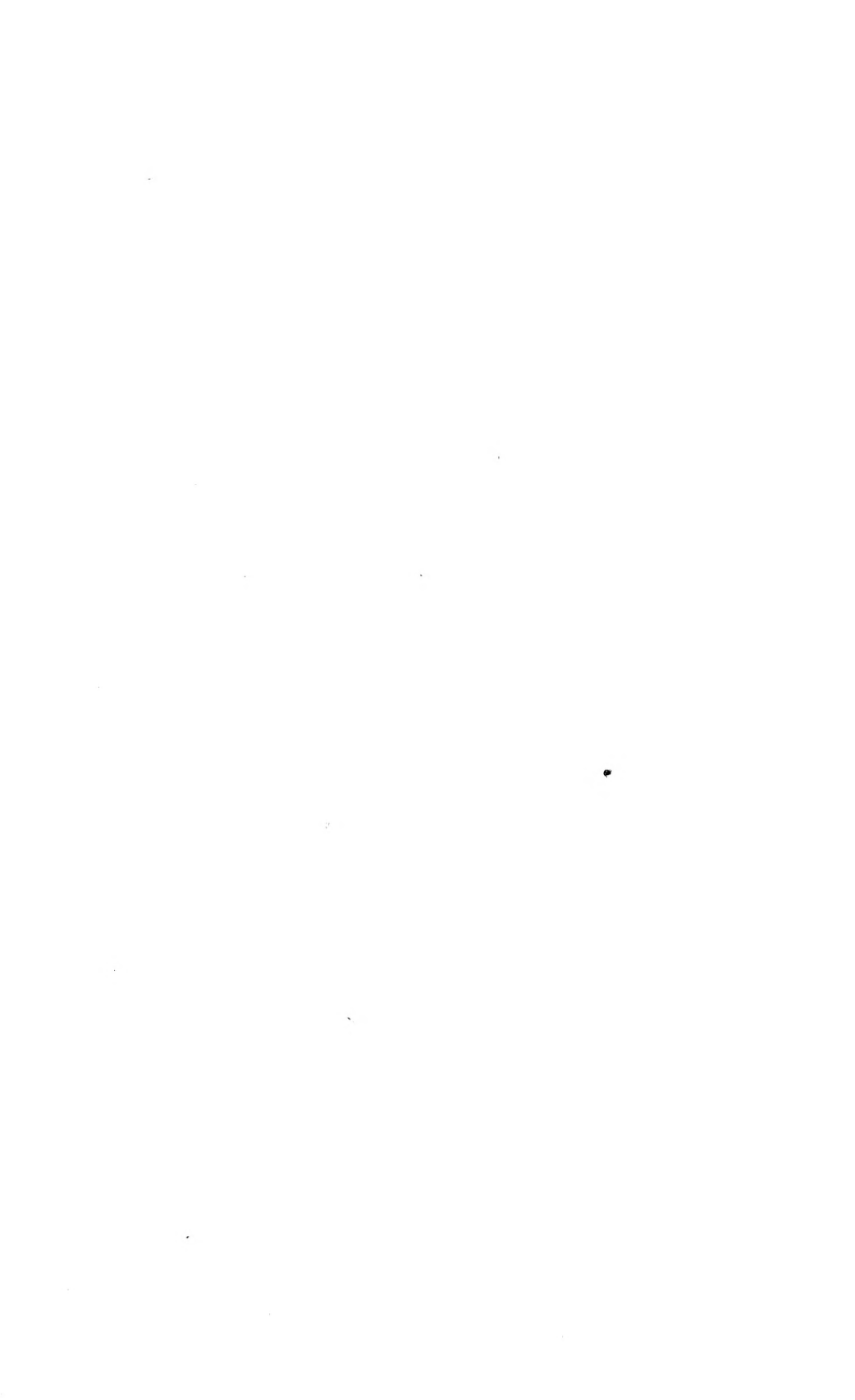
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